

# *FOUR VṚTTIS IN PĀṆINI*

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# FOUR VṚTTIS IN PĀNINI

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## Preface

Pāṇini is tested not only by time but also by machines (computers) for its perfection coupled with brevity. Although it is accepted by one and all that language undergoes change naturally, a standard form is very much needed for a perfect and flawless transaction of various activities and in the present day electronic revolution, it is required for computer applications, especially for machine translation. In order to compile a Vyākaraṇa one requires a standard form of Śabda, its meaning and the relation between them. A Vyākaraṇa prepared with standard material for a standard language would last forever. It was with such an ideology in mind that the intelligentsia of Indian subcontinent had long ago devised the science of language. Dharma, according to them, is concomitant of language and use and abuse are the subject matter of Vyākaraṇa.

With the training I received in both oriental and occidental methods and with my knowledge of Veda, Vedāṅgas and Darśanas I tried my best to explicate the concept of Vṛtti and the terse Sūtras of Pāṇini involved in it. It is obvious that systematic study of Pāṇini and the chain of commentaries thereupon have been receiving scant attention of students of today, more so in the medium of Sanskrit. Therefore, I endeavoured to dwell upon the cryptic Sūtras, Vārtikas and Mahābhāṣya taking clues from Bhartr̥hari, Jinendrabuddhi, Kaiyaṭa, Dikṣita and Nāgeśa. Hope the book will serve the needs of both the scholars - who are not familiar with Śāstric style and who, for some reason or the other, could not reach such a wide range of commentaries.

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## INTRODUCTION

*Patañjali*, while commenting on the *Pāṇinisūtra*, *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* (2-1-1), discusses the concept of *Vṛtti* at length. *Pāṇini* himself did not use the cryptic term *vṛtti*. Rather, in order to register the arguments and discussions of other grammarians, who were either predecessors and/or contemporaries to *Pāṇini*, *Patañjali* mooted the question of *Vṛtti*. On the other hand, whichever aspect was dealt with under the heading *Vṛtti*, was covered under *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*. In other words, *padavidhi* and *Vṛtti* are synonyms.

Almost half of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (i.e. 1724 *sūtras*) deals with the so called *Padavidhis*, i.e. *kṛt* (484 *sūtras*), *taddhita* (1114), *saṁāsa* (109, *ekaśeṣa* included) and *sanādyantadhātu* (27).

Following *Mahābhāṣya*, *Hari* (*Bharṭṛhari*) elaborated the concept of *Vṛtti* in 624 verses in *Vṛttisamuddeśa* in *Padakāṇḍa* of *Vākyapadīyam*. The later grammarians like *Harādatta*, *Kaundabhaṭṭa*, *Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita*, *Nāgeśa* etc. preferred the term *Vṛtti* to *Padavidhi* while referring to the above said *padavidhis*.

*Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita* in *Kaumudi* enumerated *vṛttis* as five, viz. *kṛttaddhitasamāsaikaśeṣasanādyantadhātu* whereas *Nāgeśa* in *Mañjūṣa* asserts that *Vṛtti* is of four types (*tatra vṛttiścaturdhā*). Since *ekaśeṣa* is seen in the place of *dvandva* it is not separately counted by the latter. In fact, *kṛt* etc. are candidates having *Vṛtti* and therefore fit to be called *vṛttimat*. Rather, they are referred to as *Vṛtti* following *abhedopacāra* (treatment of non-difference). Technically it is called *gauṇa* (secondary), *Nāgeśa* clarified this in *Uddyota* under *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*.

**Definition of *Vṛtti*:** *Parārthābhīdhanam vṛttiḥ* is the definition quoted by *Patañjali*. Expression of the meaning by the important (*pradhāna*) word (as in the case of *Bahuvrīhi*) - supported by the meaning of the unimportant (*upasarjana*) word (where it is applicable - like *rājapuruṣa*). In case of *Dvandva*, both the words are important and the meaning of the group of words (*samudāyārtha*) has to be taken as *parārtha*. This applies to other *vṛttis*, i.e. *kṛt*, *taddhita* and *sanādi*, where the meaning of the group of *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* is *parārtha*. In other words, the words having different meanings in a sentence (eg. *rājñah puruṣaḥ*) would unite to form as a *Samāsa* (*rājapuruṣa*)

with *viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva* (*rājasambandhī puruṣaḥ*) - i.e. the words involved in a *Vākya* would get a different form (*para*), and it is called *Vṛtti*.

**Types of *Vṛttis*:** *Jahatsvārtha* and *Ajahatsvārtha* are the two types proposed by the school of *Vṛtti*. In which the words give up their meaning (*jahati padāni svārtham yasyām sā* or *jahati svāni padāni yamiti jahatsvaḥ*, *jahatsvaḥ arthaḥ yasyāḥ sā jahatsvārthā*). According to this, the word *rāja* in *rājapuruṣa* gives up its meaning and qualifies the meaning of *puruṣa* (*Patañjali* explains that this is like a carpenter, while serving the king, gives up his own work). In *Jahatsvārtha*, however, the word does not completely give up its meaning. *Ajahatsvārtha* is where the words won't give up their meaning, i.e. while not giving up its meaning, *śabda* combines with another *śabda* (as a qualifier), and a unified meaning is thus expressed. In the example *rājapuruṣa*, the *śabda* - *rāja* does not give up the *viśeṣyata* within, but at the same time attains *viśeṣanata* (proved/indicated thru *puruṣaṇiṣṭhaviśeṣyatā*) also and a unified meaning is expressed. *Patañjali* compares attaining additional meaning by a *śabda* with the conduct of a beggar who goes on collecting more alms without giving up the earlier ones.

**Difference between *Pāṇini* and followers of *Vṛtti*:** In the galaxy of *Vaiyākaraṇas*, some are *naityaśabdikās* and some are *kāryaśabdikās*. According to the former, *śabdas* are *nitya* - i.e. naturally both, *Samāsa* and *Vākya* are there - *rājapuruṣaḥ* and *rājñah puruṣaḥ*. Both ultimately mean the same. Rather it is the (artificial) device of *Vaiyākaraṇas* to exhibit that the *Vākya*, *rājñah puruṣaḥ* is replaced by the *Samāsa*, *rājapuruṣaḥ* following the *prakriya* (the *prakriya* may differ from grammarian to grammarian but the end - result should be the same). The *Śāstra* (offering some *prakriya* or the other to achieve the intended form) is simply an instrument to acquire firsthand knowledge of already existing linguistic paradigms (*prayuktānāmīdamanvākhyānam* - *Patañjali*).

On the other hand, the latter think that *Śāstra* would be instrumental in creating *samarthaḥ* (*ekārthībhāva*) or *Vṛtti*, i.e. *Vṛtti* is not natural, and therefore *Śabdas* are *kārya* (to be produced by *Śāstra*). *Atha ye vṛttim vartayanti kim ta āhuḥ* - *Patañjali*'s sentence means it.



Pāṇini is nityaśabdavādin and the followers of the concept of Vṛtti are kāryaśabdavādis.

In fact, since naturally both a Vākya and Samāsa exist (to express the same meaning) the former need not say Vibhāṣā (2-1-11), etc. which implies that the Samāsa is optional, but for the above said reason. Patañjali calls them as Vṛttipakṣa and Avṛttipakṣa. Where there is bādhyabādhakabhāva there only the term vibhāṣā is needed.

**Samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ (2-1-1):** Any vidhi that is meant to make a pada has to be known as having resort to sāmārthya - says Dīkṣita (sāmārthya is capacity/ability to express the intended meaning). Under 3-1-2 Patañjali clarifies that if there is padagandha it will be padavidhi.

Initially, Patañjali discusses as to whether this is an Adhikāra or Paribhāṣā and what the term samarthaḥ means, i.e. Ekārthībhāva or Vyapekṣā.

An Adhikāra would have limited jurisdiction whereas a Paribhāṣā (paritaḥ vyāpṛtā bhāṣā - a norm/rule that can stretch its tentacles allover the Śāstra) can be applied anywhere in the Śāstra. Bhāṣyakāra compares Paribhāṣā with a well-lit lamp put at a place (in the house) but illuminates the entire house. Rather, elsewhere (ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā, 1-1-48) he himself says that Adhikāra is of three types and Paribhāṣā is one of them. The above Sūtra is a Paribhāṣā is the conclusion.

So far as the sāmārthya is concerned, it is of two types - Ekārthībhāva and Vyapekṣā - when two words (or prakṛti and pratyaya) express a single unitary meaning it is called Ekārthībhāva (eg. rājñāḥ puruṣaḥ - rājapuruṣaḥ). Vyapekṣā (4) means mutual expectancy coupled with (viśiṣṭā apekṣā), i.e. ākāṅkṣā coupled with yogyatā and āsatti (rājñāḥ puruṣaḥ - is a Vākya where there is Vyapekṣā).

**Ekārthībhāva and Paribhāṣā:** After discussing the pros and cons in case of different pairs like Ekārthībhāva and Adhikāra, Vyapekṣā and Adhikāra etc. Patañjali (5) concludes that the term samarthaḥ means Ekārthībhāva and the Sūtra is a Paribhāṣā. The words sāmārthye in isusoḥ sāmārthye (8-3-44)\* and yukte in nacavāhāhaivayukte (8-1-24) are signs set by Pāṇini in order to suggest that here samarthaḥ means Ekārthībhāva. Eikapadyam

(single word) eikasvāryam (single svāra) and ekavibhaktitvam (having a single vibhakti) are the signs of Ekārthībhāva.

**Vyapekṣa:** Patañjali (6) registers the contention of some others (especially Naiyāyikas) that Vyapekṣā is the sāmārthya even in Vṛttis. In fact, Ekārthībhāva has got Vyapekṣā as the criterion. Rather, it is their contention that Vyapekṣā only (7) is the sāmārthya and not Ekārthībhāva at all, i.e. the term samarthaḥ in the present Sūtra means Vyapekṣā only. And the expectancy is between Arthas rather than Śabdā - rāja feels (expects) that puruṣa belongs to him and the latter feels that he belongs to rāja. The relation between them is expressed by ṣaṣṭhī.

Similarly, the kriyākāraka - abhisambandha between kaṣṭam and śritaḥ is expressed by Dvitiyā.

In case of Ekārthībhāva, samarthaḥ means samgatārthaḥ or samsṛṣṭārthaḥ - ekībhūtam (becoming a single entity) is the meaning. If it is Vyapekṣā, samprekṣitārtha or sambaddhārtha - vyatiṣaṅga (fastening with each other) is the meaning.

Further Patañjali discusses at length the problems to be faced and the amendments to be made (like a separate definition of a sentence useful only in application of certain grammatical rules), by quoting Kātyāyana.

**Bheda and Samsarga:** Sāmārthyam is the combination of two features - bheda and samsarga. In the sentence rājapuruṣam ānaya (bring the king's servant) - rāja separates puruṣa from other kings and puruṣa also separates rāja from other puruṣas. Subsequently, even in jahatsvārtha, a free puruṣa cannot be brought rather the one related to rāja. In fact, Patañjali mooted this question in the context of supporting jahatsvārtha in terms of Vṛtti. This is needed even for naityaśabdikas as both these features are criteria of Ekārthībhāva. Nāgeśa compares the interpretation in terms of Vṛtti with the akhaṇḍāṛthabodha in tattvamasi etc Mahāvākyas in Vedānta. And he also claims that the same is ekārthībhāva. The above analysis is applicable in Dvandva and Bahuvrīhi too.

**Samāsa and Vākya:** The difference between Vākya and Samāsa is vividly exhibited by Patañjali -

**1. Meaning:** Words in a Vākya express their meaning separately - *rājñah puruṣaḥ*, whereas a unitary meaning is expressed by a *Samāsa-rājapuruṣaḥ*. Rather both of them express the same meaning.

**2. Sublopa:** The vibhaktis of the words in a Vākya won't get lopa whereas in a *Samāsa* they get lopa - *rājñah puruṣaḥ* - *rājapuruṣaḥ*.

**3. Vyavadhānam:** Words involved in a Vākya can be employed with gap - i.e. there can be other words in between (since there is no word order in Sanskrit) whereas in *Samāsa* the words involved should not have any gap - *rājñah ṛddhasya puruṣaḥ* - *rājapuruṣaḥ*.

**4. Abhisambandha:** Words involved can/will have mutual connection whatever may be the order (free word order) whereas the order of words in a *Samāsa* is specific - *rājñah puruṣaḥ* or *puruṣo rājñah-rājapuruṣaḥ*.

**5. Svāra:** There will be two svaras in a Vākya and only one in the case of *Samāsa* - *rājñah puruṣaḥ* - both the words have got ādyudātta due to nitsvara, i.e. *rājan* is *kaninpratyayānta* and *puruṣa* is *kuṣanpratyayānta*. *Rājapuruṣaḥ* - the *Samāsa* is *antodātta*.

**6. Samkhyāviśeṣa:** In a Vākya the *Samkhyā* is clearly expressed - *rājñah / rājñoh / rājñām puruṣaḥ* (the servant of one / two / many kings) whereas in a *Samāsa* no specific *Samkhyā* is expressed - *rājapuruṣaḥ*.

**Abhedaikatvasamkhyā:** This term, has been used for the first time by Hari (8), while explaining the contention of some scholars (Helārāja). He widely discussed the pros and cons in case the concept is accepted. While Patañjali maintains silence in this matter, Kaiyaṭa, Haradatta, Dīkṣita, Kaundabhaṭṭa etc. felt that *abhedaikatva* is the sign of *ekatva* etc. Nāgeśa (9), on the other hand, vehemently refutes the contention of others (quoting *Mahābhāṣya*) and asserts that the term means no *samkhyā* is expressed, be it *ekatva* or *dvitva*. And the concept is not workable in *Samāsas* like - *stokānmukṭaḥ* and *māsajātaḥ*, where the *Samkhyā* (here *ekatva*) is expressed. Rather, the propegators of the concept explained (10) (says Hari) that it is how different *rasās* with different capacities are there in honey, all the *Samkhyas* are there in *abhedaikatva*.

**7. Abhidhānam:** The idea is clearly expressed by a Vākya - *brāhmaṇasya kambalastiṣṭhati*. In a *Samāsa* the idea is rather unclear - *brāhmaṇakambalastiṣṭhati* - it is doubtful as to whether it

is *sambuddhi* or *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa*. Patañjali says that sometimes reverse is the case - *ardham paśoḥ devadattasya* - here in this sentence whether *ardha* is connected with *paśu* or *devadatta*. In a *Samāsa* *ardhapaśurdevadattasya*.

**8. Upasarjanaviśeṣaṇam:** The *upasarjanapada* in a Vākya can have a *viśeṣaṇa* (qualifier) whereas in a *Samāsa* this is not possible - *ṛddhasya rājñah puruṣaḥ* - *rājapuruṣaḥ*. Patañjali offers a counter example (for *upasarjanaviśeṣaṇa* in *Samāsa*) - *devadattasya gurukulam* (this aspect will be discussed later).

**9. Cayoga:** It is of two types - *svacayoga* and *svāmicayoga*. Both will be there in a Vākya but not in a *Samāsa*. *Svacayoga* - *rājñah gauśca aśvaśca puruṣaśca* is a Vākya. *Rājñah gavāśvapuruṣāḥ*. *Svāmicayoga* - *devadattasya ca yajñadattasya ca viṣṇumitrasya ca gauḥ* - is a Vākya. *Devadattayajñadattaviṣṇumitrāṇām gauḥ* - is a *Samāsa*.

Incidentally Patañjali (11) clarifies that *Vyākaraṇasāstra* does not prescribe meaning (*Artha*) rather it is concerned only about the form of *Śabda*. And in cases like *anekamanyapadārthe*, *cārthe dvandvaḥ*, *apatye*, *rakte* etc. the interpretation should be as follows - the *Śabdas* which are already there in such and such an *artha* would get the name *Bahuvrīhi*, *Dvandva* etc. That's why it is called *Śabdānuśāsanam* (not *Arthānuśāsanam*). *Nirukta* and *Kośas* deal with meaning.

**Sāpekṣa and Asāmarthya:** There are certain *Samāsas* which elude *sāmarthya*. *Kātyāyana* (13) and Patañjali (14) addressed this problem under *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*. Earlier it was discussed that a word involved in a *Samāsa* cannot have a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) and a word having a *viśeṣaṇa* cannot become a part of *Samāsa* by uniting with another word. As a result in a situation like - *ṛddhasya rājñah puruṣaḥ* one cannot make a *Samāsa* with *rājñah puruṣaḥ* nor can one add any *viśeṣaṇa* like *ṛddhasya* to the word *rāja* involved in a *Samāsa* like *rājapuruṣaḥ*. Why is it so? Following *Kātyāyana*, Patañjali says that since the word *rāja* has got the expectancy with *ṛddhasya*, it has become *sāpekṣa* and hence it cannot become part and parcel of a *Samāsa*. Kaiyaṭa explains the problem - the word *rāja* in the *Samāsa* is *upasarjana* / *apradhāna* (non-important) and as such becomes *viśeṣaṇa* and expresses the meaning of the other



(important) word, i.e. *puruṣa*. In case such a *rāja* -pada has got a *viśeṣaṇa* (qualifier) like *ṛddhasya*, it has to become *pradhāna* (important). Since a single word simultaneously cannot have both the properties, viz. *prādhānya* and *Ekārthībhāva* the ruling - *sāpekṣamasamartham bhavati* is legitimate and has to be taken as a *Nyāya* (norm).

**Sāpekṣasamāsa:** There are usages like *devadattasya gurukulam*. Here the word *devadattasya* is a qualifier of *guru*, a word that is already involved in *Samāsa*. Elsewhere also, i.e. *isusoḥ sāmārthye* (8-3-44) (words ending in *is* and *us* will get *ṣatva* if there is *sāmārthya*) - *brāhmaṇasya sarpiṣkaroti* etc. the word *sarpiḥ* has got *ṣatva* since there is *sāmārthya*, in spite of the fact that it is *sāpekṣa* with *brāhmaṇasya*. So, as was mentioned by Hari (14), a *sambandhiśabda*, even if *sāpekṣa* would get united with another *śabda* to become a *Samāsa*. The *Vārtika* by *Kātyāyana*, i.e. *aguruputrādīnām*, is said in this context only. *Patañjali*'s ruling that the *Vārtikas* need not be said means that the amendments are *nyāyasiddha* (are known thru commonsense). On top of everything *Patañjali* (15) rules that *gamakatva* (transformation of meaning without a hitch) is the criterion in accepting *Vṛtti* (even if there is *sāpekṣatva*).

**Asamarthasamāsa:** *Pāṇini* and *Patañjali* have accepted *samāsas* where there is no *sāmārthyam* but there is *gamakatva*. *Asūryampaśyāni* (*mukhāni*) is an example. Here the *nañ* (a) has got its connection with *paśya* and not with *sūrya* as the intended meaning is - the faces which do not see even the Sun. *Asūryalalāṭayoh* (3-2-36) is the *Pāṇinisūtra* which institutes *khaś-pratyaya* in this example. *Sudānapumsakasya* (1-1-46) is another *Sūtra* where *Pāṇini* himself used an *asamarthasamāsa* - *anapumsakasya* (*napumsakasya* *suṭ na bhavati*) - where the *nañ* (a) does not have connection with *napumsakasya* - is used. It is against this background that *Patañjali* asserts that *gamakatva*, rather than *sāmārthya*, in certain cases, is the criterion in effecting *Vṛtti*.

## SAMĀSAVṚTTIḤ

*Pāṇini* took up *Samāsavṛtti* initially. *Samāsa* literally means *samudāya* /group (of words). Most of the *Samāsas* are covered under four headings - *Avyayībhāva*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Dvandva* and *Bahuvrīhi*. Any *Samāsa* that is not covered by the *Sūtras* under these four headings has to be processed by *supsupā*. This is stated by *Patañjali* (1) under *saha supā* (2-1-4). *Sup* is brought as *anuvṛtti* from *subāmantrite parṇagavatsvare* (2-1-2) and combined with *supā* in *saha supā*. *Punarutsyūtam*, *punarniṣkṛtaḥ*, *pūrvam bhūtaḥ bhūtapūrvah* are examples. *Samāsas* are of two types - *nityasamāsa* and *anityasamāsa*. Following *vibhāṣā* (or *Mahavibhāṣādhikāra*), which is gotten thru carving out the *Sūtra* (2) - *vibhāṣāpāparibahirañcavaḥpañcamyā* (2-1-11), all the *samāsas* that follow this *Sūtra* are optional. And it is implied that the *Samāsas* preceding the above *Sūtra* are *nitya*, *supsupā* is not a *nityasamāsa*.

**What is Optional:** The term *samarthaḥ* (in 2-1-1) means *Ekārthībhāvasāmārthyam*. *Vibhāṣā* is a qualifier (3) of *samarthaḥ*. Therefore, the *Ekārthībhāva* that is being superimposed in regard to *Padavidhi* (*Vṛtti*) is optional. So much so that in case there is *Ekārthībhāva* the *Samāsa* (*Vṛtti*) will take place and in its absence there will be *Vākya* (with *Vyapekṣa*) - *rājapurusaḥ-rājñah purusaḥ*. *Vibhāṣā* should not be taken as a qualifier of *Samāsasamjñā* as the same would be a mere waste.

*Nāgeśa* suggests (2-1-17) that initially the *sāmārthya* (coupled with optionality) has to be imposed and students are to be taught in the following manner for easy understanding *subantam śritādibhiḥ sahocāryamāṇam vā samartham bhavati, samartham ca samāsasamjñam bhavati* (a noun pronounced alongwith *śrita* etc. would become optionally capable, and the same would have the name *Samāsa*). Even in *niṣedhasūtras* *sāmārthya* will be optional (*Nāgeśa* in this regard differs with *Bhaṭṭojī* who says *samasyate*, rather, *Patañjali*, under 2-1-6 (*avyayam...*) says - *eteṣvartheṣu yadavyayam vartate, tatsubantena saha samasyate iti*.



**Common principles:** The *vigrahavākya* (like *rājñah puruṣaḥ*) is a statement which explains the *Samāsa*. It is similar to *Vākya* (*rājñah puruṣaḥ*). *Vigraha* (*vibhinnatvena grahaḥ jñānam* - the meaning of the words involved in a *Samāsa* is shown separately by this) is not fit for usage whereas a *Vākya* is fit for usage. *Rājan* *nas puruṣa su* - is called *alaukikavigrahavākya*, exclusively useful for *prakriyā*. Both *Vṛtti* and *Vākya* (also called *vyasta*) should express the same meaning (4) (*vṛttivākyayoḥ samānārthakatvaniyamah*).

The following steps in the given sequence are to be taught to pupils - and inject *samudāyaśakti* (*supsupā* etc.) -

- rājñah puruṣaḥ* - give an exploded view (*alaukikavigraha*) *rājan* *nas puruṣa su*  
 inject *Ekārthibhāva* (*samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*)  
 give *samāsasamjñā* and *viśeṣasamjñas* (*prākkaḍārātsamāsaḥ*, *Avyayibhāvaḥ*, *Tatpuruṣaḥ* etc.)  
 apply *Prātipadikātva* to the group (*kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca*)  
*lopa* of *suppratyayas* (and *nalopa*) (*supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*)  
*pūrvanipāta* to *upasarjana* (*prathamānirdiṣṭam samāsa upasarjanam* and *upasarjanam pūrvam*)  
 making the *Samāsa* a *subanta* by adding *Sup*s (*svaujasamaut...*)  
*rājapurusaḥ* - *Samāsānta*, *aluk*, *svara*, etc. may follow.

**Tiñantasamāsa:** *Samāsa*, according to Pāṇini, is not confined to *Subantas* (nouns) only - *ākhyātamākhyātena kriyāsātatyē* (*gaṇasūtram* 20, quoted under *mayūravysakādayaśca* 2-1-72 in *Kaumudī*) - a *tiñanta* (verb) will get united with another verb to form into a *Samāsa* if continuity of a *kriyā* (activity) is there- cook

and fry - if this is mentioned time and again then the *kriyā* is called *pacatabhṛjjatā* (in feminine gender - *ṭāp*). Similarly *khādatamodatā* (eat and enjoy).

**Nityasamāsa:** *Rājapurusaḥ* - is a *vaikalpikasamāsa*, since it has got a *vigrahavākya* (made of its own words). *Gireḥ samīpam* (near the hill) is the explanation offered for the *nityasamāsa upagiram*, i.e. it does not have a *vigraha* (like a *vaikalpikasamāsa*). *Nyāyaḥ*, *Vyākaraṇam*, *sūpapratī*, *adhihari*, *kumbhakāraḥ* etc. are popular as *nityasamāsas*. *Alaukikavigraha* is as follows: *giri* + *nas*, *upa*; *kumbha* + *nas*, *kāra*.

Pāṇini said 56 *sūtras* before *vibhāṣādhikāra* (2-1-11) and the *Samāsas* produced by these *Sūtras* are *nityasamāsas*. *Supsupā* - is not a *nityasamāsa* (*Patañjali* offered - *vispaṣṭam paṭuḥ vispaṣṭapaṭuḥ* - as example) although it precedes *vibhāṣā*.

Following *Kaiyaṭa* (*iko' savaṇe śākalyasya hrasvaśca* 6-1-127) it seems, *Bhaṭṭojī* ruled in *Kaumudī* that a *Samāsa* either having no *vigraha* at all or having a *vigraha* not made of its own words is a *nityasamāsa*. While the first one can be taken as a definition the second one can be a sign to identify a *nityasamāsa*. Under *caturthī tadarthārthabalihitasukharakṣitaiḥ* (2-1-35) and *aṣaḍakṣa...* (5-4-7) *Patañjali* says - *bhavati vai kaścidasvapadavigraho bahuvrīhiḥ*, *tadyathā śobhanam mukham asyāḥ sumukhīti*. It is difficult to support *Kaiyaṭa*'s (under 6-1-127) statement that *nityasamāsa* is that which is under *nityādhikāra* for obvious reasons. *Patañjali*'s statements in support of *avigraha* are there under 2-1-36, 2-2-19, 5-1-64 and 5-4-7.

**Samjñāyām nityasamāsaḥ:** A sentence cannot be considered as a name. Therefore, in spite of *vibhāṣā*, the *Samāsa* like *unmattagaṇam*, *lohitagaṇam* (*anyapadārthe ca samjñāyām* 2-1-21), which are names of countries, are *nityasamāsas*.

**Types of Samāsas:** There are four major *samāsas* analyzed by Pāṇini:

**1. Avyayibhāva:** The common rule for *Avyayibhāva* offered by grammarians earlier to Pāṇini was - *pūrvapadārthapradhānaḥ*



(wherein meaning of the first word would be important). Since this phenomenon is observed in many examples, this definition became popular. In examples like *sūpapratī* (less *sūpa* - boiled gram), and *unmattagaṅgam* (name of a country) where *uttarapadārtha* (the meaning of the latter word) and *anyapadārtha* (the meaning of another word) are important respectively.

There are two Sūtras read - *avyayībhāvasca* (1-1-41 & 2-4-18). The former says that all *Avyayībhāvasamāsa*s are *Avyayas* (having a single form which does not undergo any *vyaya* - change due to *liṅga*, *vacana* and *vibhakti* - also called indeclinable). The latter says that *Avyayībhāvasamāsa* is *napumsaka* (neuter gender) - the term *napumsakam* from *sa napumsakam* (2-4-17) is brought down to this Sūtra - called *Anuvṛtti*. The benefit is *hrasva* thru *hrasvo napumsake prātipadikasya* (1-2-47) - *gopāyati* (one who protects) or *gāh pāti* (one who protects the cows) - *gopāḥ* - *tasmin* (in *gopa*) *iti adhiḡgopam*. Here the *ā* in *gopāḥ* became *hrasva* due to *napumsakatva* thru the above Sūtra.

**Pāre madhye śaṣṭhyā vā** (2-1-18): While there exists the *Mahāvibhāṣādhikāra*, Pāṇini again adds *vā* (optionally) here. *Mahāvibhāṣā* says that *Ekārthībhāva* is optional. The result is that there will be *Samāsa* and *Vākya* - *pāreḡgāt*, *madhyeḡgāt* *gaṅgāyāḥ pārāt*, *gaṅgāyāḥ madhyāt*. The *vā* in the above Sūtra says that there will be *śaṣṭhisamāsa* as well - *gaṅgāpārāt*, *gaṅgāmadhyāt*.

**Samāsāntāḥ** (5-4-68): The *Avyayībhāvasamjñā* gets *Samāsāntapratyayas* as well - *ṭac* - *upaśaradam*, *pratyakṣam* etc.

**2. Tatpuruṣa:** Earlier grammarians defined *Tatpuruṣa* as *uttarapadārthapradhāna*. Since the meaning of the latter word is important in most of the examples the same became popular.

**Dvigu:** In order to get *Samāsāntas* (*ṭac* and *ac* only), Pāṇini (*dviguśca* 2-1-23) extended *Tatpuruṣasamjñā* to *Dviguśamāsa* also. In *strītvā nīp* (*dvigoḥ* 4-1-21) and in *samāhāra* (group) *napumsakatva* (*dvigurekavacanam* 2-4-1, *sa napumsakam* 2-4-17) are other benefits - *trilokī*, *pañcarājam* etc.

**Karmadhāraya:** When both the words express the same thing (*samānam ekam adhikaraṇam vācyam yayoh padayoh*) the *Tatpuruṣa* is called *Karmadhāraya*. In examples like *mahānavamī*, *pumvattva* (*pumvatkarmadhārayajātīyadeśīyeṣu* 6-3-42) and the subsequent *āttva* (*ānmahataḥ samānādhikaraṇajātīyayoh* 6-3-46) are the benefits.

**Nityasamāsa:** Single words only are used to curse and to express a name. In such cases there will be a *Samāsa* only (no *Vākya*), i.e. *Ekārthībhāva* is *nitya* and there won't be the *Vākya*. A king who does not protect the subjects is cursed by the word *kimrājā* (*kim kṣepe* 2-1-64). *Uddālakapūṣpabhañjikā* is the name of a game and the *Samāsa dantalekhakaḥ* suggests livelyhood. Both are *nityasamāsas* - *nityam kṛīḍājīvikayoh* (2-2-17). The term *nityam* goes as *anuvṛtti* into a number of Sūtras (*kūgatiprādayaḥ* 2-2-18 etc.) and all the *samāsas* proposed by these sūtras are *nityasamāsas*. *Hari* (5) on the other hand, proposes that on a par with *nityam kauṭīlye gatau* (3-1-23) the term *nityam* in the above Sūtra also is not required, i.e. the meaning of *Vṛtti* and *Vākya* is not the same and as such there is no place for *Mahāvibhāṣā*.

**Bahulam:** This term has got four-fold benefit. In the Sūtra *viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam* (2-1-57) Pāṇini used this term. Due to *Mahāvibhāṣā*, *nīlamutpalam* and *nīlotpalam* - both a *Vākya* and *Samāsa* will be there. Then what is the purpose of *bahulam*?

In examples like *kr̥ṣṇasarpah* there will be *nityasamāsa* and some times *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya* won't become a *Samāsa* at all - *rāmaḥ jāmādagnyaḥ*. Therefore in order to analyse such examples Pāṇini added the term *bahulam*.

*Patañjali*, under 2-1-1 clarifies that any controversy (which is often seen) regarding *Tatpuruṣa* and *Bahuvrīhi* should be solved thru *bahulam* in 2-1-57. *Hari* (6) explains this aspect in *Vākyapadiyam* - *susūkṣmajaṭakeśaḥ* is a *Bahuvrīhi* consisting the three words - *susūkṣmāḥ jaṭāḥ keśāḥ yasya saḥ* (one who has got small-clustered-hair). *Anekam anyapadārthe* (2-2-24) is the Sūtra. There will be *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara* thru *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*



(6-2-1). On the other hand, in order to effect the *Ekārthībhāva* if one applies *supsupā* (2-1-4) - a *sāmānyasamāsa* or *viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam* (2-1-57) - a *karmadhārayasamāsa*, then the *Pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara* (or *bahuvrīhisvara*) will be replaced by *Antodāttasvara* (*samāsasya* 6-1-223) for that part - *susūkṣmajāta*. This tendency has to be arrested and the term *bahulam* is installed for this purpose. *Antodātta* is *antaraṅga* since it applies quickly and easily whereas *Bahuvrīhisvara* is *bahiraṅga* since it applies with difficult and slowly. The *paribhāṣā* - *asiddham bahiraṅgamantarāṅge* says that *antaraṅga* would prevail. In order to avoid this situation and to effect *Bahuvrīhi* at a time to all the three words the term *bahulam* is required.

**Avāntaratatpuruṣa:** While discussing *sāmārthya* *Patañjali* (7) rakes up the question of *Samāsa* for three words - *mahat kaṣṭam śritaḥ* - why *Samāsa* does not take place in spite of the fact that there is *sāmārthya* following *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* 2-1-1 ?

The question is whether there will be two *samāsas*, each between two words or one *Samāsa* at a time among the three words - first *kaṣṭam śritaḥ* - *kaṣṭaśritaḥ* (*dvitīyā śritātītapatitagaṭātyastaprāptāpannaiḥ* 2-1-24) then *mahat kaṣṭaśritaḥ* (*mahat* is a separate word) will be the *Samāsa*, i.e. *āttva* will not be there by *ānmahataḥ samānādhikaraṇajātīyayoḥ* (6-3-46) which applies when *mahat* is followed by an *uttarapada* (in *samāsas* it means the last word) which is also the *viśeṣya*. Here in the present example *śrita* is the *uttarapada* and not *kaṣṭa*.

When the *Samāsa* has to be effected to all the three words at a time, then also, due to the said reason the *āttva* does not come (i.e. *mahat* is followed by *madhyamapada* and not *uttarapada*).

On the other hand, *mahat kaṣṭam mahākaṣṭam* (*sanmahat paramottamoṭkrṣṭaḥ pūjyamānaiḥ* 2-1-61), *mahākaṣṭam śritaḥ mahākaṣṭaśritaḥ* (*dvitīyā śritātīta* 2-1-24) is a way out, i.e. *Ekārthībhāva* is there in the total group (although it is absent between *mahat* and *kaṣṭam*).

So far as the *svara* (8) is concerned there will not be any change in the case of *mahākaṣṭaśrita*, i.e. initially (*mahākaṣṭam śritaḥ*) *antodāttasvara* will be there by *samāsasya* (6-1-223) but it is checked by *thāthaghañktājabitrakāṇām* (6-2-144). The latter is checked by *ahīne dvitīyā* (6-2-47) which reinstates the *antodāttasvara*. Therefore in either case the same *svara* prevails.

Rather in cases like *mahāraṇyātīta*, there will be difference in *svara* if *Samāsa* is effected at a time to all the three words - when the *Samāsa* is effected between *mahat* and *araṇya* then the part-*Samāsa* would get *antodātta* thru *samāsasya* (6-1-223). The same would apply to the entire *Samāsa* - as *thāthaghañktājabitrakāṇām* (6-2-144) is *bahiraṅga* (it applied as *atīta*, a *ktānta* is there) it cannot check the former which is an *antaraṅga* (*asiddham bahiraṅgamantarāṅge*). *Ahīne dvitīyā* (6-2-47) has no place because it applies in the sense of *ahīna* (has not left) and *atīta* means crossed (left). *Hari* (9), in such a situation clarifies that *samāsasya* (6-1-223) is *sāmānya* whereas *thāthaghañ...* (6-2-144) is *viśeṣa* (*satisiṣṭabaliyastvāt*) and as such there will be *thāthādisvara*, which prevails. The purport is that if it is *tripadasamāsa* there will be *madhyodātta* and if it will be *dvipadasamāsa* then there will be an *antodātta* and in order to avoid this situation *dvipadatatpuruṣa* has to be effected. Conclusion: *supsupā* (2-1-4) is pivotal. *Patañjali* indirectly refutes others *siddhānta* that a *Samāsa* can be simultaneously effected on three words (i.e. *tripadasamāsa* is acceptable) and since there will be problem in *svara* whatever may be the number of words in a *Tatpuruṣa*, each time a *dvipadasamāsa* has to be effected. So on the lines of *pañcagavadhanaḥ* (*pañca gāvaḥ dhanam yasya saḥ* - a *Bahuvrīhi*) where the first two words are taken as having *viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva*, *mahākaṣṭaśritaḥ* has also to be analysed. It is against this background that the general *Sūtra*, *supsupā* (2-1-4) is interpreted as - only one *subanta* would get *Samāsa* with a *subanta* (i.e. the *sankhyā* in the *sūtra*, *ekavacana*, is *vivakṣita*) as it is in the case of *paśunā yajeta* (one should perform a sacrifice with one *paśu*) in *Mīmāṃsā* (10).



**Khaṭvā kṣepe (2-1-25):** A brahmacārī (bachelor/pupil) should not rest on a cot (floor-sleeping is a must). Having finished his education, taken the Bath (snātakavṛata), permitted by Guru a pupil has to enter Gr̥hasthāśrama (from Brahmacyāśrama), i.e. get married and then only can rest on a cot. The one who violates the norm / tradition is blamed - khaṭvārūḍhaḥ jālmaḥ (11).

**Kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam (2-1-31):** A tṛtīyānta in the sense of kartā or karaṇa would get samāsa with kṛtpratyaṅanta and it is Tatpuruṣa - nakhanirbhinnah, nakhanirbhedaḥ. Here in these examples kṛtā & ghañ - both are kṛts. There won't be a Samāsa with taddhita - kāṣṭhaiḥ pacatitarām. Bahulam is useful to avoid samāsa in cases like dātṛeṇa lūnavān - ktavatu is a kṛt.

**Annena vyañjanam (2-1-33) Bhakṣyeṇa miśrīkaraṇam (2-1-34):**

Vyañjanam means anything that is useful for samskāra (seasoning) - rice is soaked in curd and curd is vyañjanam. Such a word would get samāsa with anna (or its synonym) - dadhnā odanaḥ dadhyodanaḥ is the example. Miśrīkaraṇam means making mixture. Any stuff (preferably in solid state) useful in making mixture is referred to by miśrīkaraṇam. A tṛtīyānta denoting such a stuff would get samāsa with a word denoting an etable - guḍena pṛthukāḥ guḍapṛthukāḥ (flat rice mixed with jaggery).

Kātyāyana (12) raises up a question that is common to both the Sūtras - both are asamarthasamāsas as there is no sāmārthya between the words. Patañjali (13) elaborates - kārakas have got sāmārthya with kriyā only, there cannot be sāmārthya among kārakas. It is how cross sticks (steps) of a ladder do not have mutual connection but thru the two upward long sticks (railing). Finally Kātyāyana remarks that since yuktārthatā is there which is decided by the understanding it can be concluded that there is sāmārthya. Patañjali supports this view and clarifies that there will be anavasthā (procedural lapse) if it is accepted that a śabdaloṇa (disappearance of a word) has to be accepted in such cases - i.e. guḍasamsṛṣṭā pṛthukāḥ guḍapṛthukāḥ, and therefore since there is sampratyaṅa (as it is popular in the common usage) the samāsas should be accepted without the need for any amendment.

**Dhvāṅkṣeṇa kṣepe (2-1-41):** Saptamī is brought from saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ (2-1-39). Kātyāyana says that dhvāṅkṣa and its synonyms are to be taken (dhvāṅkṣeṇetyarthagrahaṇam). Provided that the samāsa is used to blame, a saptamyanta would get Samāsa with dhvāṅkṣa, kāka etc. - tīrthadhvāṅkṣaḥ / tīrthakākaḥ (14) - a student who does not stay for long in any one gurukula and keeps on shifting like a crow which goes on flying from one tīrtha (a sacred bathing place at a river) to the other, is blamed by these words. The word tīrtha is used in the sense of guru also - tīrthe ye (6-3-87) - satīrthyah - it means having the same guru (ekagurukaḥ).

**Kṣepe (2-1-47):** A saptamyanta would get samāsa with a ktānta if it is used to blame - avataptanakulasthitam ta etat - a man starts a work but will not be present for long and such a person is blamed in this fashion. There is comparison - your presence is like that of a mongoose on a hot plate.

**Pātresamitādayaśca (2-1-48):** Pātresamita etc. are nipātas of saptamisamāsa in the sense of blaming. People who are punctual in attending the dinner but are not present at the time of work are called pātresamitāḥ. A person who behaves like a soldier in the house but is ineffective outside is called geheśūrah.

**Kutsitāni kutsanaiḥ (2-1-52):** Here kutsitāni means that are being treated as blameworthy. The latter should denote blame / abuse. Vaiyākaraṇakhasūciḥ is a grammarian who shows at the sky in order to divert the attention of the questioner. Here in the example, Patañjali (15) explains in his terse words - originally Vyākaraṇa is not blameworthy (kutsitam) rather the student who studied Vyākaraṇa is, as he, due to lack of intelligence, points at the sky. Consequently since it is there in a person blameworthy, Vyākaraṇa shares the phenomenon of blameworthiness. Kaiyaṭa (16) elucidates that the implication of kim vyākaraṇam kutsitam? is that the total Samāsa should denote kutsā as śabdapravṛttinimitta, i.e. in case like vaiyākaraṇaḥ cauraḥ (the grammarian is a thief) as Vyākaraṇa per se is not blameworthy since it is one of Vedāṅgas nor the pupil.



*Upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ (2-1-54):* A Śabda denoting upamāna would get Samāsa with a Śabda that denotes the samānadharmā (property that is common to both upameya and upamāna) in samānādhikaraṇa only- śāstrīśyāmā devadattā. Here the word śāstrī is upamāna and śyāmā (rather śyāmatva) is the sāmānyadharmā that is there in a - śyāmā (rather śyāmatva) is the sāmānyadharmā. That is there in a śāstrī as well as devadattā. The Sūtra is required to get pūrvanipāta to upamāna only whereas in its absence either word would get pūrvanipāta following viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam (2-1-57). The girl Devadattā is of medium complexion (or black) and sharp like a knife - is the meaning - śāstrī iva śyāmā devadattā is the Vākya. Patañjali and Hari (38 verses) had an elaborate discussion on this Sūtra. Initiating the discussion Bhāṣyakāra (17) raises the question as to whether both upamāna and upameya are one and the same - i.e. there is abheda since the sāmānya, śyāmatva is there in both śāstrī and devadattā, the upamāna and upameya. This is not appropriate as the word śāstrī is redundant. On the other hand, if due to difference in resorts, the śyāmatva is different, then since the śyāmaguṇas in śāstrī and devadattā are different, there cannot be upamānopameyabhāva caused by śyāmaguṇa (sāmānya). Hari (18) makes it clearer saying that if there is the vivakṣā (desire to say) of a single (guṇa) jāti then there is no difference (abheda) and if bheda is vivakṣita then both are taken separately.

Then Patañjali (19) clarifies that upamāna and upameya would become compatible if there is something that is common (sāmānya) and also something uncommon (viśeṣa) as well. Hari (20) illustrates - gotva among cows is sāmānya and śabala, bahula, kapila (colors) etc. are viśeṣas.

Bhāṣyakāra (21) further asserts - the above statement does not need mentioning as it is implied thru the term upamāna - māna (measuring instrument) is taken up to know (the measurement of) the unknown and upamānam is that which roughly/nearly (not exactly) measures the same - i.e. there will be similarity (of properties) but it is not completely the same, ex. gauriva gavayaḥ (the animal gavaya is like an ox) - here guṇaḥ is known and the latter is unknown.

Meya is the one that can be measured/defined and māna is the one that can measure/define. Paricchedaka, avacchedaka, bheda and viśeṣaṇa are synonyms of māna whereas paricchedya, avacchedya, bheda and viśeṣya are synonyms of meya. Hari (22) explains the terms upamāna and upameya at length. He gave two different commentaries on the above Bhāṣya - especially the word 'tat in tatsamīpe is taken as a pronoun referring to upameya in the first one - i.e. upamāna is that which measures nearly to upameya, whereas in the second commentary, Hari says that the pronoun 'tat may refer to māna, i.e. a māna measures exactly whereas upamāna is the one which measures nearly to māna. Here in the present case śāstrī is a pariccheda to Devadattā following the similarity in śyāmaguṇa. But Devadattā is a feminine character and the same is not there in śāstrī. Śyāmaguṇa is upameyārtha and the sādṛśya is limited to that. Therefore, upa-samīpe (or upameyārthibhūtasādṛśye), mānam = paricchedakam - upamānam. On the other hand, since māna is pradhāna (predominant) tat means, as per the norm 'sarvanāmnām pradhānaparāmarśitvāt (pronouns refer to the predominant factor), māna. Upamāna is the paricchedaka of upameya. Māna (any measuring instrument) measures exactly but upamāna, unlike māna, is a samīpaparicchedaka.

Now the term sāmānya (23) - it is popular in the sense of class or jāti. Jātirjātam ca sāmānyam - Amaraḥkośa. But here Pāṇini employed the term in the sense of sādṛśya (similarity) and not in the sense of mahāsāmānya. Since the śyāmatva etc. which is taken up for sādṛśya is going to separate (bheda) it is called viśeṣaguṇa. Even as per the definition of the term, i.e. ekam anekānugatam (the one which is common in many) aneka can be two or more and need not necessarily be many. So here the śyāmatva is there in two things - upamāna and upameya and it is the one referred to but not jāti. The same is called bheda following prasiddhi (popularity) and aprasiddhi (non-popularity). The guṇa (sāmānya) in upamāna is popular and it is not so in the case of upameya. This aspect is dealt with by both Bhāṣyakāra and Hari. Hari (24) quotes another argument in this regard - bheda happens not only due to prasiddhi and aprasiddhi but also pūrṇatā (integrality) and apūrṇatā (non-integrality). The



śyāmatva, a guṇa is there in both a śāstrī and devadattā but both are different and the minute difference is not felt. That's why it is called sāmānyam. In upamāna it is full whereas it is less in some aspects in upameya. It is due to this bheda that it is called viśeṣa. Such a sāmānya that is confirmed as a bhinna as well as abhinna is called sādṛśya.

Further, Patañjali and Hari address the problem of anyapadārtha in the above upamānasamāsa - anekamanyapadārthe (2-2-24) is a Sūtra which says that more than one Subanta form into a samāsa if the total unit denotes the meaning of an outside (not involved in samāsa) word, ex. pītāmbaraḥ (a man with yellow costume) means Viṣṇu. Here both the words, pīta and ambara unite and denote the meaning of an outside word, Viṣṇu.

Similarly, in the case of śāstrīśyāmā (a Tatpuruṣa) also the samāsa denotes the meaning of an outside word devadattā. There are two questions - since anyapadārtha is there in both Tatpuruṣa and Bahuvrīhi why to say anyapadārthe in 2-2-24? Is there no problem by Bahuvrīhisamjñā to Tatpuruṣasamjñā? - Anyapadārtha (Bahuvrīhi) is bahiraṅga and svapadārtha (non-Bahuvrīhi) is antaraṅga (assiddham bahiraṅgamantaraṅge - Paribhāṣā). Therefore, in order to arrest Bahuvrīhi in svapadārthaprādhānya, anyapadārtha is necessary and following some usages the total Sūtra cannot be wiped out. The second question - Bahuvrīhi is instituted under śeṣādhikāra - śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ (2-2-23). Upamānasamāsa, which is a sāmānādhikaraṇasamāsa is not śeṣa. Therefore, there is no clash between both the samāsas. Even if it is argued that the term śeṣa is judged (by Patañjali) (25) as redundant then also following vacana (vacanasāmarthyā or śruti), i.e. the Pāṇinisūtra, śāstrīśyāmā has to be taken as Tatpuruṣa only. Under ākaḍārādekā samjñā (1-4-1) it was decided that by either version (prākkaḍārādekā samjñā / prākkaḍārāt param kāryam), Bahuvrīhi is checked by the viśeṣavidhi, upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ.

The siddhānta (26) is that both the words (or the samāsa) denote the upameya, devadattā only. Otherwise much more has to be said (itarathā bahvapekṣyam syāt) declares Patañjali.

*Upamitam vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmānyāprayoge (2-1-55):* Sāmānādhikaraṇena from pūrvakālaikasarvajaratpūrāṇanavakevalāḥ sāmānādhikaraṇena (2-1-48) runs as an Adhikāra till the end of the pāda, i.e. first pāda of second Adhyāya. Upamitam means upameya. The upameya would get samāsa with words like vyāghra (i.e. in comparison) etc. in terms of sāmānādhikaraṇa, if the sāmānya is not used - puruṣo vyāghra iva - puruṣavyāghraḥ. If the vighraha is - puruṣo vyāghra iva śūraḥ - then since the sāmānya, śūraḥ is used there cannot be a Samāsa (27). In order to get pūrvanipāta to upamāna, Pāṇini composed this Sūtra. This checks the sāmānyasūtra, i.e. viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam (2-1-56) by which either word may get pūrvanipāta.

Hari (28), in five verses, explicates the background of this Sūtra - following śaurya (valour) the word vyāghra denotes puruṣa. Therefore since the adhikaraṇa / abhidheya (thing being referred to) is the same, i.e. since there is sāmānādhikaraṇya, the Samāsa will take place. On the other hand, if the word śūra (i.e. the word denoting sāmānyadharma) is used then since vyāghraśabda denotes mṛga (an animal - and not puruṣa) and therefore the adhikaraṇa of both puruṣa and vyāghra - śabdāś would be different due to which the samāsa does not take place.

In sāmānādhikaraṇya (29) too, where vyāghraśabda denotes puruṣa, since a different guṇa, i.e. need not necessarily be śaurya, it can be himsraṭva / violence or balavattva / strength, the usage of śūraśabda happens in samāsa as well. In order to arrest such a Samāsa the pratiśedha, sāmānyāprayoge is necessary. Śabdāś denoting commendation and condemnation (pūja and nindā) are used to specifically mention the guṇa. Abhimanāyate, sumanāyate and durmanāyate are kyaṇpratyayāntas (Sanādyantadhātuvṛtti). Here manāya is the kyaṇantadhātu, whereas su, dur and abhi are pūrvapadas similar to upasargas. Rather the pratyaya (kyaṇ) denotes the meaning which is inclusive of the meanings of these words. Nevertheless, these words are used for clarity. Patañjali (30) further declares if one resorts to vaiyadhikaraṇya or sāpekṣatva (i.e. the upameya, puruṣa is sāpekṣa with śūraḥ) to avoid samāsa then

*sāmānyāprayoge is redundant but becomes a sign to pradhāna, even if it is sāpekṣa, would get Samāsa (see 2-1-1 - devadattasya gurukulam). bhr̥śādibhyo bhuvyacverlopaśca halaḥ (3-1-12) is a Sūtra which institutes kyaṇ-pratyaya to bhr̥śa etc. in the sense of bhavati, but if they are ending in cvi-pratyaya kyaṇ won't apply. In fact, if bhr̥śādi are ending in cvi then since the sense of bhavati is already expressed kyaṇ does not come at all, then why to say acveḥ?*

*Rather the restriction (niṣedha) is made following expectancy and the same (acveḥ) suggests that kyaṇ has to be applied in the sense of cvi, i.e. abhūtatadbhāva (earlier it was not, now it has become) - abhr̥śaḥ bhr̥śaḥ bhavati bhr̥śāyate.*

**Veśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam (2-1-57):**

**Tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ (1-2-42):**

*A qualifier would get Samāsa with viśeṣya which is in samānādhikaraṇa - it is bahulam and the same is called Karmadhāraya. In some cases the samāsa is nitya (kṛṣṇasarpāḥ) in some it does not apply (rāmo jāmādagnyaḥ), in some it is optional (nīlam utpalam / nīlotpalam) and in some cases another application (susūkṣmajaṭakeśa - Bahuvrīhi i.e. the first two words won't get either saha supā (2-1-4) or karmadhāraya) - these are the benefits of the term bahulam (31). This samāsa is called Samānādhikaraṇasamāsa also (besides Tatpuruṣa and Karmadhāraya). Viśeṣaṇam means a separating factor. In nīlam + utpalam (a blue lotus), the word nīlam separates the utpala (with which it is connected) from other (white, red etc.) utpalas. Therefore it is called viśeṣaṇam. A thing which is mentioned without any speciality, like utpalam, is called viśeṣyam.*

*Bhedaka (separator), avacchedaka (allotor), upakāraka (helper) and śeṣa (remainder) are synonyms of viśeṣaṇa. Bhedya, avacchedya, upakārya and śeṣi are synonyms of viśeṣya. Viśeṣya directly gets connection with kriyā (verb). Viśeṣaṇa, while qualifying viśeṣya, would have connection with viśeṣya only. Therefore it is upakāraka*

*and as such it cannot have direct connection with kriyā. Hence viśeṣya is pradhāna (important) and viśeṣaṇa is apradhāna (unimportant).*

*Generally all the viśeṣaṇas denote the guṇa and the latter cannot be independent rather would have a resort called dravya (i.e. one cannot see the guṇa nīlatva separately from utpalam).*

*Hari (32), in Vākyapadīya (Vṛttisamuddeśa of Padakāṇḍa) deals at length with the concept of viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva. He refutes the argument of others who hold the following - if only akhaṇḍārtha (without bheda) is expressed then it is difficult to account for the viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva wherein bheda is pradhāna. Further it is also appropriate to say that the meaning is known in the order of Śabdās, that are heard. Hence the meanings of viśeṣaṇa and viśeṣya are to be mentioned in the same order. Moreover, a norm (nyāya) - nāgrhītaviśeṣaṇā viśeṣye buddhiḥ (the buddhi does not take the viśeṣya without viśeṣaṇa). So that the cognition of viśeṣaṇa and viśeṣya should be taken separately. Rather, instead of leaving them separately a combined cognition - a thing having such a property, is felt. Hari refutes this argument by saying that in case both the factors, i.e. viśeṣaṇa and viśeṣya, are taken separately both of them cannot have mutual relation as both of them do not exist at the same time in the mind (buddhi).*

*Hari (33) explained the complicated concept of viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva in two verses - naturally a cognition that is undivided is born thru Vṛtti. Rather, teachers, in order to make it easily digestable to students, create bheda and explain. Properties related to jāti, guṇa and kriyā would be there in every thing. The relation between these properties and things is called samavāya-sambandha, which implies that both are inseparable. At Vāky level bheda will be there between viśeṣaṇa and viśeṣya whereas in Vṛtti abhedajñāna will be there. This is precisely the difference between Vāky and Vṛtti.*

*Elsewhere, Hari (34) defines the terms - the one which is not known clearly is viśeṣya and which is known is viśeṣaṇa. Since it helps others, the viśeṣaṇa is apradhāna and viśeṣya is pradhāna when both the Śabdās denote guṇa and guṇī then there will be different*

*vibhaktis* (paṭasya śuklaḥ - whiteness of cloth) and when both of them denote the same thing then there will be *sāmānādhikaraṇya* (both having the same *vibhakti* - *vīraḥ puruṣaḥ*) and the latter is called *Karmadhāraya*.

**Nañ (2-2-6) :** *Nañ*, an *Avyaya* would get *samāsa* with a *samartha-subanta* and it is called (*nañ*) *Tatpuruṣa* - *na* + *brāhmaṇaḥ* *abrāhmaṇaḥ*, i.e. a person, *kṣatriya* etc. who is like a *brāhmaṇa* but different from a *brāhmaṇa*.

*Patañjali* analyses the *samāsa* chiefly from three angles

**1.uttarapadārthapradhānaḥ (35)** - Here *nañ* indicates illusion or *bhṛānti*, i.e. a person who is certainly not *brāhmaṇa* but is a subject of the feeling - *brāhmaṇa*. If this is accepted then the *Samāsa* means only *brāhmaṇa* - a *viśeṣaṇa* (here it is *nañ*) adds something without spoiling the *viśeṣya*. *Nañ* denotes *abhāva* (non-existence) and it is *viśeṣaṇa*, then *abhāva* of *uttarapadārtha* (*brāhmaṇa*) would be the result. This is not what is required and the implication is that it is redundant in the *samāsa*. Then the remaining *brāhmaṇaśabda* means *brāhmaṇa* only. Therefore *abrāhmaṇamānaya* means fetch a *brāhmaṇa*. This is the purport, of *Patañjali*'s statement - *brāhmaṇamātrasyānayanam prāpnoti*. On the other hand, if it is held that *nañ* denotes the absence of some qualities (of a *brāhmaṇa*) then also the same is the situation as there cannot be a single *brāhmaṇa* with all the qualities.

**2. anyapadārthapradhānaḥ (36)** : Here *abrāhmaṇaḥ* means a person like a *kṣatriya*, who is not a *brāhmaṇa*, i.e. both the words denote the meaning of another (not involved in *samāsa*) word like *kṣatriya* - *na brāhmaṇaḥ asyām*, i.e. a *jāti* with *brāhmaṇavyakti*.

But if this is accepted there will be problem with usages like - *avarṣā hemantaḥ* (the *hemanta* season is like *varṣāḥ*). Here, as per *anyapadārtha* the *vigraha* would be *na varṣāḥ yasmin saḥ* (*Bahuvrīhi* - *anekamanyapadārthe*, 2-2-24) and then following *gostriyopasarjanasya* (1-2-48), *hrasva* will be effected and it will be *avarṣāḥ*. *Avarṣāḥ* is the usage and the same only is acceptable. Therefore *anyapadārtha* will not do.

**3. pūrvapadārthapradhānaḥ (37)** : If the meaning of the first word is predominant then, since *nañ* is an *avyaya* the *samāsa* would become an *avyaya* (*abrāhmaṇam*). *Bhāṣyakāra* had offered a clarification to this doubt / objection - *nañ* in a *Vākya* denotes *niśedha* (restriction) only whereas in a *samāsa* the same denotes a *dravya* (thing) and this is a natural phenomenon.

Finally, after a lengthy discussion, *Patañjali* ruled that *uttarapadārthapradhāna* is legitimate. Moreover, instead of using a word like *kṣatriya* why is it that a term like *abrāhmaṇa* is used - *Bhāṣyakāra* responds to this question - *jātihīne samdehāt durupadeśācca brāhmaṇaśabdo vartate ... tataśca paścadupalabhate nāyam brāhmaṇaḥ abrāhmaṇo'yamiti* - due to wrong information, initially one thinks that someone is a *brāhmaṇa* and later he realises and employs the word - *abrāhmaṇa*.

The fact is that *Vākya* and *Samāsa*, which have already been in usage, are quite different and *Vyākaraṇam* is *Śabdānuśāsana* (and not *Arthānuśāsana*). Rather as remarked by *Kaiyaṭa*, *Patañjali* wants to discuss the intricacies of *prakriya* thru *apoddhāra* (38) (artificial separation of *samāsa*).

Depending on the connection of *nañ* with the verb and the latter word (*uttarapada*), two processes, viz. *Prasajyapraṭiśedha* and *Paryudāsa*, take place -

*prasajyapraṭiśedhaḥ syāt kriyayā saha yatra nañ  
paryudāsaḥ sa vijñeyo yatrottara padena nañ*

If the sentence - *anekam bhojaya* means do not feed a single person (i.e. feed many persons), i.e. if it is construed as - *ekam na bhojaya*, it is *prasajyapraṭiśedha* (having referred, restriction).

On the otherhand, if the same sentence is interpreted as different but similar to one (i.e. two or more), i.e. if it is construed as *ekabhinnam ekasadrśam bhojaya* (following the norm - *nañivayuktamanyasadrśe tathāhyarthagatiḥ*), then it is *Paryudāsa*.



In the first process the *kāraka* is restricted directly whereas in the latter one it results ultimately (see *Mahābhāṣya* 2-2-6 and *Vākyapadiya* - *Vākya* - 241 & 243, *Pada Vṛtti*, 290).

**Śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ (2-2-23)** : Literally *śeṣaḥ* means remaining. All the other *vibhaktis*, i.e. *dvitīyā*, *trītiyā* etc. are taken by Pāṇini for *saṁāsas* and *prathamā* (39) is left behind. Therefore, the *Samāsa* of *prathamāntas* or *saṁānādhikaraṇas* is called *Bahuvrīhi*.

**Anekamanyapadārthe (2-2-24)** : Many a Subanta would get *Samāsa* if it (the *Samāsa*) denotes the meaning of another word, i.e. a word other than the ones involved in *Samāsa* - *pītam ambaram yasya saḥ* / *pītāmbaraḥ viṣṇuḥ* (one who has got a yellow dress).

*Bhāṣyakāra* (40) advanced two sides to the aspect - *padārthābhīdhāna* and *vibhaktyarthābhīdhāna* and took the latter side. In *Bahuvrīhi* *anyapadārtha* is *pradhāna*. If *sambandha* is mentioned the *pravṛttinimitta* and *sambandhi* as *saṁāsārtha* then it is *padārthābhīdhāna*. On the other hand, if *sambandhi* is mentioned as *pravṛttinimitta* and *sambandha* as *saṁāsārtha* then it is *vibhaktyarthābhīdhāna*. In the case of latter, due to *abhedabhāvana*, the *sambandhi* would completely be known. First the *śaṣṭhī* is shown - *citrāḥ gāvaḥ asya* and in the same sense the *Samāsa* - *citraguḥ* is used and therefore this is sensible. Rather, since Pāṇini asserts *anyapadārtha*, finally the *padārtha* having *sambandha* would be denoted.

Further *Patañjali* (41) discusses the aspect of *dravya liṅga* and *saṁkhyā* and rules that in *vibhaktyarthābhīdhānapakṣa* only, since Pāṇini employed a term *arthe* instead of *anekamanyapade*, whereby it would automatically be known *anyapadārthe* as *Vṛtti* cannot be applied in a *pada*, the complete *padārtha* having *dravya liṅga* and *saṁkhyā* is taken, i.e. since the *viśeṣya devadattaḥ* is used as *anuprayoga* it will be *citraguḥ* only. In the case of *Bahuvrīhi* (42), there is some conspicuous difference between *Vākya* and *Vṛtti* - a *Vākya* shows the *svāmī* as unimportant whereas *Vṛtti* shows the same as important - *citrā gāvaḥ asya devadattasya* / *citraguḥ devadattaḥ*.

*Bhāṣyakāra* (43) remarks that both *Vākya* and *Vṛtti* would never be used simultaneously.

*Tadguṇasamviññānabahuvrīhi* (44) is that where the meaning of the *guṇa* is also taken - *śuklavāsasam ānaya* (fetch the man in white dress) - the person with white dress is brought. On the other hand, *citraguṇa ānaya* (fetch citragu, a person who has got cows in different colors) - the person only is brought, i.e. not along with the cows. This is called *atadguṇasamviññānabahuvrīhi*. Thus *Bahuvrīhi* is of two types - explains *Nāgeśa* in *Mañjūṣā*.

**Saptamīviśeṣaṇe bahuvrīhau (2-2-35)** : *Saptamyanta* as well as *viśeṣaṇaśabda*, in a *Bahuvrīhisamāsa*, are to be placed first (*upasarjanam pūrvam* 2-2-30) - *kaṇṭhe kālaḥ yasya saḥ kaṇṭhekālaḥ citrāḥ gāvaḥ yasya saḥ citraguḥ*.

**Vyadhikaraṇabahuvrīhiḥ** : *Bahuvrīhiḥ saṁānādhikaraṇānām* says *Kātyāyana* under *anekamanyapadārthe*. So in cases like *pañcabhiḥ bhuktamasya* there cannot be a *saṁāsa*. For examples like *kaṇṭhekālaḥ* (in *kaṇṭhesthaḥ kālaḥ yasya saḥ*) *Kātyāyana* composed a *Vārtika* - *saptamyupamānapūrvapadasyottarapadalopaśca*. On the other hand, Pāṇini insinuates that there can be a *Vyadhikaraṇabahuvrīhi* - In 2-2-35 the word *saptamī* is not required as *viśeṣaṇa* includes *saptamī* also. Thus the word *saptamī*, having become redundant, suggests that there can be a *Vyadhikaraṇabahuvrīhi* - *kaṇṭhekālaḥ*, *sthāneyogā* etc. This is clarified in *Kaumudī* and *Śekhara*. *Bhāṣyakāra* under *Vṛddhirādaic* (1-1-1) resorts to *Vyadhikaraṇabahuvrīhi-vṛddhirnimittam yasmin so'yam vṛddhinimittatḥ*. *Kaiyaṭa* comments - *nimitta - śabdopādānasāmarthyāt vyadhikaraṇapado bahuvrīhirāśrīyate*. In *Udyota*, *Nāgeśa* sustains the concept. *Jinendrabuddhi* explains it is beneficial to prefer *Bahuvrīhi* to *Tatpuruṣa* (*vṛddhinimittasya ca taddhitasāraktavikāre* 6-3-39). *Abhidhānalakṣaṇā kṛttaddhita-samāsāḥ* (*kṛdantas*, *taddhitāntas* and *saṁāsas* are acceptable if there is the usage) - is the guideline.

**Cārthe dvandvaḥ (2-2-29)** : The *avyāya*, *ca* (45) is used in four contexts:

1. samuccayaḥ: *Īśvaram gurum ca bhajasva* - in this example both the words, *īśvaram* and *gurum*, do not have any mutual expectancy (or they are *parasparanirapekṣa*) and have individual connection with the *kriyāpada*, *bhajasva*. Here *ca* is used in *samuccaya*.

2. anvācayaḥ: If things are said as *pradhāna* and *apradhāna* and if there is *ākāṅkṣā* (mutual expectancy) between them the *cakāra* is said to be in *anvācaya* - *bhikṣāmaṭa*, *gāmcānaya* - here moving for *bhikṣā* is important and fetching the cow (it is to be fetched if found on the way) is unimportant and obviously both are with *ākāṅkṣā* (or *apekṣā*).

3. itaretarayogaḥ (46): When mixed things have connection with a verb and compatibility (*sāhacaryam*) is there then the *cakāra* is said to be in *itaretarayoga* - *dhavakhadirau* - *dhavaśca khadiraśca* - here the two *cakāras* express compatibility.

4. samāhāraḥ: The term means a group (*samūha*) - a group of *saṃjñās* and *paribhāṣās* is *saṃjñāparibhāṣam*- *saṃjñānām paribhāṣāṇām ca samāhāraḥ*. Here unlike *itaretarayoga*, *samāhāraḥ* is *viśeṣya*. In *itaretarayoga* the parts are separately known / felt whereas in *samāhāra* opposite is the case. In *samuccaya* (there is no *prādhānya* to *cārtha*) and *anvācaya* (both have got connection with different verbs) due to lack of *sāmarthyā* and *anabhidhāna* (no usage) *Samāsa* does not take place. In *itaretarayoga* and *samāhāra*, *Nāgeśa* (47) asserts (contrast with *Kaiyaṭa*) that the *ca* in the first and second is *dyotaka* (i.e simply an indicator / illuminator of the already existing property), whereas in the third and fourth it is *vācaka* (expressing agent).

Yugapadadhikaraṇavacanatā: This complex concept is mooted by *Kātyāyana* (2-2-29) - *siddham tu yugapadadhikaraṇavacane dvandvavacanāt*. *Adhikaraṇam* is the meaning (*padārtha*) of the words involved in the *saṃāsa*. *Yugapat* means simultaneously. So much so that if the meanings of both the words are simultaneously expressed by each word in the *saṃāsa* then it is called *dvandva* (48). Thus in *rāmakṛṣṇau*, the word *rāma* expresses the meanings of both the words - *rāma* and *kṛṣṇa* and *kṛṣṇa* expresses the meanings of

*rāma* and *kṛṣṇa*. In cases like *gāmaśvampuruṣam* etc. the meanings - *gauḥ* etc. are denoted by independent words which are not mutually connected (*parasparanirapekṣa*) and therefore there cannot be *dvandva* due to lack of *yugapadadhikaraṇavacanatā*. *Kātyāyana* (49) quotes two sentences from *Veda* in support of his claim - *dyāvā ha kṣāmā*, *dyāvā cidasmāi prthivīsannamete*. *Ha* and *cidasmāi* - both the words indicate that it is a *Vākya*. *Dyośabda* is in the sense of *dyāvāprthivī* (sky and earth) and the *prathamādvivacana* gets *vṛddhi* and *āvādeśa* following - *supām sulukpūrvasavarṇāccheyādyāyājālaḥ* (7-1-39). Similarly *prthivī* means *divas* and *prthivī* - *pūrvasavarṇādīrgha* by *vā chandasi* (6-1-106). Following the *sāmānādhikaraṇya* with the verb in *dvivacana* - *sannamete* and the *padapāṭha* with *prakṛtibhāva* (*īdūdeddvivacanam pragṛhyam*, 1-1-11 and *plutapragṛhyā acinīyam* 6-1-25) it is decided that *prthivī* means *divas* and *prthivī*. Therefore, argues *Kātyāyana*, when it is possible in a *vigraha* it is certainly possible in a *Samāsa*. The result is that *cārthe* has to be replaced by *yugapadadhikaraṇavacane*.

*Hari* (50) elaborates the concept by five verses - the concept is not new. It is there in *Śāstra*, *Veda* and *loka* - the term *śaundaiḥ* in *saptamī śaundaiḥ* (2-1-40) means *śaundā*, *dhūrta*, *kitava* etc. and *ardharcāḥ* in *ardharcāḥ pumsī ca* (2-4-31) means the words in *ardharcādigāṇa*. In *Veda* the term *puroḍāśaḥ* (*puraḥ* = initially, *dāśyate* - being offered / given) actually means a lump of flour but in practice (in the sacrifice) the same lump alongwith curd-rice, damaged milk is referred to as *puroḍāśaḥ*. In *loka* (common parlance) the sentence *chatrināḥ yānti* (people with umbrellas are going) means some of the people going have umbrellas. But, declares *Hari*, such a meaning is not popular in *loka* nor is it seen that there is any *śāstrīya* meaning in terms of *anvaya* and *vyatireka*.

Finally, *Patañjali* (51), after a lengthy discussion on other problems as well, ruled that the concept of *yugapadadhikaraṇavacanatā* is cumbersome (as the meaning as such is not understood) and can badly be proposed (unauthoritative). He opined that the term *cārtha*



is preferable as it is easy to establish Vṛtti (in both Dvandva and Ekaśeṣa). The examples picked up by Kātyāyana from Veda are termed by Patañjali as Vedic usages (i.e. there can be difference from loka) and he asserts that the dvivacana in both the places is following the Vārtika - *supām supo bhavanti* (7-1-39). Further he cautions of *sūtrabheda* (like *vākyabheda*, splitting of Sūtra is unacceptable). Meaning should be decided thru *vrddhavyavahāra* (usage of elders). Under *sarūpasūtra* (1-2-64) also Kātyāyana refers to the concept by another name - *sahavivakṣā* (*sahavivakṣāyāmekāśeṣaḥ*). Hari clearly says that *sahavivakṣā* is there in Dvandva and Ekaśeṣa (*yadā sahaivivakṣām tāmāhurdvandvaikaśeṣayoḥ* (Vākya, Pada, Vṛtti 28).

## EKAŚEṢAḤ

*Sarūpāṇāmekāśeṣa ekavibhaktau* (1-2-64): If one wants one cow he would pay five thousand rupees and for ten cows he would pay ten times. Similarly, if one wants to express one meaning he has to use one Śabda and as many Śabdas for as many meanings - but rules Pāṇini, only one Śabda remains and the *pratyaya* denotes the number of things - i.e. brevity and economy in Śabdas. This is called Ekaśeṣa. Ekaśeṣa is considered as a Vṛtti by some (*Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita* etc.) and Nāgeśa opposes the idea. He clarifies that the popularity is secondary (*gāuṇa*) as Ekaśeṣa replaces (*apavāda*) Dvandva (52), and *Ekārthībhāva* in the form of *prthagarthānāmekārthībhāva* (two separate meanings becoming a single meaning) is not there in Ekaśeṣa (*tatra vṛttiścaturdhā-Maṇjūṣā*).

In this Sūtra, the *bahuvacana* in *sarūpāṇām* is not *vivakṣita*, i.e. the Sūtra applies in *dvivacana* as well - *vrkṣaśca vrkṣaśca vrkṣau*.

There are ten Sūtras which regulate the Ekaśeṣa at the end of second pāda of first Adhyāya.

Ekaśeṣa is applicable in *itaretarayogadvandva* only and not in *samāhāra*. *Bhāṣyakāra* (53) is of the view that *ekaśeṣaprakaraṇa* is not necessary (*pratyākhyānam*) - if *ākṛti* is meant then *ekavacana* and if *dravya* is meant then *dvivacana* and *bahuvacana* will take place.

## Aluk

*Aluguttarapade* (6-3-1): These two words will run as *adhikāra* until *ānaṅṛto dvandve* (6-3-25). In certain *samāsas* the *vibhakti* on the first word does not disappear and all such examples are covered in this chapter. This Sūtra checks *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* (2-4-71).

*Vaiyākaraṇākhyāyām caturthyāḥ* (6-3-7): In *ātmanepadam*, *ātmanebhāṣā* etc. the *caturthi* stands. The latter is a pre-Pāṇinian equivalent of *ātmanepadam*.

*Gaviyudhibhyām sthiraḥ* (8-3-95): This Sūtra actually institutes *ṣatva* to *sakāra* of *uttarapada*. Rather in the example *gaviṣṭhiraḥ*, the *saptamī* in *gavi* stands (*aluk*) as it is read so in the Sūtra. In the case of *yudhiṣṭhiraḥ* (*Dharmarāja* of *Mahābhārata*), the *saptamī* in *yudhi* stands due to *haladantāt saptamyāḥ samjñāyām* (6-3-9).

*Tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam* (6-3-14): *Bahulam* is significant - *stamberamaḥ* / *stambaramaḥ*, *karṇajapaḥ* / *karṇajapaḥ*. And in some cases *luk* applies - *kurucaraḥ*. In all the examples the *uttarapada* is a *kṛdanta*.

*Ṣaṣṭhyā ākrośe* (6-3-21): If *nindā* (scolding) is implied then the *ṣaṣṭhī* stands - *caurasyakulam*. *Paśyatoharaḥ* (pickpocket), *vācayuktiḥ* etc. are analysed thru the Vārtika - *vākdikpasyadbhyo yuktidaṇḍahareṣu*. *Devānāmpriya* means a *mūrkha* (fool) and is a *nipāta* thru the Vārtika - *devānāmpriya iti ca mūrkhe*.

## Samāsāśrayavidhis

*Hṛdayasya hṛllekhayadanlāseṣu* (6-3-50): It is in third pāda of sixth Adhyāya that Pāṇini instituted certain *vidhis* applicable in *samāsas* - *hṛt* would replace *hṛdaya* if the *uttarapada* is either *lekha* / *yat* / *aṅṇanta* / *lāsa* - *hṛllekhaḥ*, *hṛdyam* etc.

*Himakāṣīhatiṣu ca* (6-3-54): Pāda is replaced by *pat* if followed by *hima* / *kāṣi* / *hati* - *paddhimam*, *patkāṣiḥ* and *paddhatiḥ*.

Kāre satyāgadasya (6-3-70): Mum would come on satya and agada if followed by kāra - satyamkārah, agadamkārah (doctor). Timingilah (whale) - is thru a Vārtika gile gilasya .

Rātreḥ kṛti vibhāṣā (6-3-72): Rātri would get mumāgama optionally if followed by a kṛdanta - rātrimcaraḥ / rātricaraḥ (a demon).

Carāṇe brahmacāriṇi (6-3-86): The word samāna is replaced by sa if followed by the uttarapada - brahmacārī - one who is a classmate is called sabrahmacārī .

Tīrthe ye (6-3-87): If tīrtha is uttarapada and yakārādi-pratyaya is vivakṣita then sa replaces samāna - satīrthyah (a pupil having the same guru, i.e. both studied at the same guru at different times). Yatpratyaya on satīrtha by samānatīrthe vāsī (4-4-107).

Dṛgdrśavatuṣu (6-3-89): Samāna is replaced by sa - sadṛk - sadṛśah.

Idamkimoriśkī (6-3-90): If followed by drk, drśa and vatup then idam and kim are replaced by īś and kī respectively - īdrk - īdrśah; kīdrk - kīdrśah; īdrkṣah, kīdrkṣah, iyān.

Koḥ kattatpuruṣe ci (6-3-101): Ku (bad / damaged) is replaced by kat if followed by ajādyuttarapada in Tatpuruṣa - kadannam (damaged rice).

Vibhāṣā puruṣe (6-3-106): Ku is replaced by kat optionally - kāpuruṣah / kupuruṣah (a vicious person).

Kavam coṣṇe (6-3-107): Ku is replaced by kava / ka / kat if followed by uṣṇa - kavoṣṇam / koṣṇam / kaduṣṇam (warm, koṣṇam kavoṣṇam mandoṣṇam kaduṣṇam triṣu tadvati - Amarakośa).

Prṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam (6-3-109): Prṣodara, valāhaka etc. are to be taken (as sādhuśabdāḥ) as they are pronounced by Śiṣṭas (refer to Mahābhāṣya for a definition of Āryas who are considered as Śiṣṭas. Āryans are different from Āryas).

Vale (6-3-118): In Samjñā, dīrgha will come if followed by valapratyaya - kṛṣṭivalah (farmer).

Upasargasya ghañyamanuṣye bahulam (6-3-122): Upasarga will get dīrgha (bahula) if followed by a ghañanta, the samāsa should not denote a man parīpākah / paripākah. Niṣāda is the counter-example.

Aṣṭanaḥ samjñāyām (6-3-125): Aṣṭa will get dīrgha if followed by uttarapada - aṣṭāpadam.

Mitre carṣau (6-3-130): Dīrgha to the first word if followed by mitra and if ṛṣi is denoted - Viśvāmitrah.

Vāhanamāhitāt (8-4-8): The na in `vāhana (a nipāta) will get `ṇatva if the former word denotes the load - ikṣuvāhaṇam (a vehicle laden with sugarcane).

Kustumburūṇi jātiḥ (6-1-143): Suṭ is put as nipāta if it is the name of a grain. Kutumburūṇi is the other.

Āścaryamanitye (6-1-147): In the sense of surprise the word āścarya is read as nipāta, i.e. suṭ is the āgama. Acara is the other.

Maskaramaskariṇau veṇuparivrājakayoḥ (6-1-154): Makara is there in the sense of crocodile. Maskara is a nipāta with suḍāgama in the sense of veṇu (flute). Makarī means ocean. Maskarī, is a nipāta with suḍāgama in the sense of a sannyāsī (one who renounced the worldly bindings - a hermit). A person who preaches - do not do kām्यakarmas, do not do kām्यakarmas and you will get śānti - is a maskarī (54). Niṭyanaimittikakarmas cannot be renounced even by a sannyāsī. So here karmas are kām्यakarmas only - kām्यānām karmanām nyāsam sannyāsam kavayo viduḥ - says Bhagavadgīta.

Pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca samjñāyām (6-1-157): These are nipātas with suḍāgamā in case they are names - pāraskarah, kiṣkindhā etc. There are vārtikas - tadbrhatoḥ coradevatayoḥ suṭ talopaśca -



taskaraḥ, Brhaspatiḥ, prāyasya citticittayoḥ  
prāyaścittiḥ, prāyaścittam.

## KṚDVṚTTIḤ

*Kṛt* is the name of pratyayas instituted under the Adhikāra - dhātuḥ (3-1-91) by a Sūtra-kṛdatiḥ (3-1-93). Pratyayaḥ, paraśca, ādyudāttaśca (3-1-1, 2, 3) are Adhikāras. Therefore, *kṛt* is a non-tiṅ-pratyaya instituted on a dhātu and it will come as para and will have ādyudāttasvara - is the meaning. *Kṛt*-pratyayas are instituted in the sense of different kārakas, i.e. karṭṛ, karma, karaṇa, sampradāna, apādāna, adhikaraṇa, and bhāva.

*Ekārthībhāva*: Kātyāyana and Patañjali discuss this aspect under tatropapadam saptamīstham (3-1-92). Bhāṣyakāra (1) rules that *kṛdvidhi* is *padavidhi* as there is *padagandha* and *padavidhi* will be in the case of *samarthas*. Nāgeśa (2) says that the word *gandha* means *sambandha* (*gandho gandhaka āmode leśe sambandhagarvayoḥ* - Amarakośa). Patañjali (3) refutes the amendment by Kātyāyana - *upapadasamjñāyām samarthavacanam*. The latter opined that the term *samartha* has to be added. Under *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* (2-2-1) also Bhāṣyakāra touched this aspect. Kaiyaṭa (4) clearly says (Pradīpa 2-2-1) that a *mahatī samjñā*, i.e. *upapadam*, is exclusively for bringing the *kṛdanta* into the ambit of *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* (2-2-1) as the *pratyaya* has got *pada* as its resort. Nāgeśa (5) further clarifies and adds that the word *tatra* in the *Samjñāsūtra* (*tatropapadam saptamīstham* 3-1-92) is also a sign and it means somehow or the other *padasambandhavidhi* should be brought under 2-2-1.

The problem is this - in *kṛdanta* the *pratyaya* is applied on a *dhātu*, i.e. after applying the *kṛtpratyaya* the unit would be eligible to receive *suppratyayas*, whereas in the case of *Samāsa*, *Taddhita* and *Subdhātu* the *padas* (*subantas*) are taken and it is fit to call them *Padavidhis*. Therefore, somehow or the other, *kṛdanta* should be certified as a *Padavidhi*. A big name (*mahatī samjñā*) like *upapadam* is given by Pāṇini - argues Patañjali, in order to accommodate *kṛdanta* as a *Padavidhi*. Since there is *Ekārthībhāva* in *nagarakāra*, *kumbhakāra* etc., all other *kṛdvidhis* have to be justified as having

*Vṛtti* - so padoddeśyakavidhi is padavidhi is the connotation. Patañjali (6) under 3-1-92 clarifies that due to asāmarthya, karmanyaṇ (3-2-1) does not apply in case of - mahāntam kumbham karoti but it applies in case of - mahān kumbho mahākumbhaḥ, mahākumbham karotīti mahākumbhakāraḥ (in the former the word kumbham is sākāṅkṣa with mahāntam and therefore saviśeṣaṇānām vṛttirna).

**Kṛtyāḥ (3-1-95):** This is an Adhikārasūtra before ṇvultṛcau (3-1-133). A group of seven kṛt-pratyayas, i.e. tavyat, tavya, anīyar, yat, nyat, kyap and kelimar (by Kātyāyana) are given an additional name - kṛtya for brevity while instituting certain applications - tayoreva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ (3-4-70), kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam (3-3-113), arhe kṛtyatṛcaśca (3-3-169) etc. All the kṛtyapratyayas come in the sense of bhāva and karma following tayoreva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ (3-4-70). On sakarmakadhātus in karmārtha and on akarmakadhātus in bhāvārtha - are they applied. This rule replaces the general rule kartari kṛt (3-4-67).

**Vā sarūpo'striyaṁ (3-1-94):** This is a Paribhāṣa and does not apply to pratyayas under the Adhikāra - striyaṁ (4-1-3). Under the Adhikāra, dhātoḥ (3-1-91) a dissimilar pratyaya replaces the original pratyaya optionally. Dissimilarity has to be considered after stripping off the anubandhas (nānubandhakṛtam asārūpyam) (7) - gām dadāti iti godaḥ. Here ka-pratyaya by āto'nupasarge kaḥ (3-2-3) totally replaces the original an by karmanyaṇ (3-2-1) due to similarity (after stripping) - here an is called utsarga whereas ka is apavāda. Both vikṣipāḥ and vikṣepakaḥ will be there as a result of this Paribhāṣā - two dissimilar pratyayas, viz. ka by igupadhajñāprikiraḥ kaḥ (3-1-135) and ṇvul by ṇvultṛcau (3-1-133) are applied. Therefore the dissimilarity has to be decided depending on prayoga (usage).

So far as the astriyaṁ - regulation is concerned, Kaiyaṭa (8) (Nyāsa also) clarifies that Vāsarūpavidhi applies even beyond striyaṁ (4-1-3), rather it is anitya (uncertain - not compulsory) beyond 4-1-3 as Pāṇini takes kṛtya and tṛc in arhe kṛtyatṛcaśca (3-3-169). And, further, kṛtyas, in addition to bhāvārtha and karmārtha, are applicable in arhārtha also.

**Tavyattavyānīyaraḥ (3-1-96):** Tavyat-kartavyam. The takāra is for svaritasvara by tatsvaritam (6-2-179). Tavya-kartavyam. Ādyudāttasvara by ādyudāttaśca (3-1-3) and the same, due to the Adhikāra, Pratyayaḥ (3-1-1), is called pratyayasvara also. Anīyar - karaṇīyam, Madhyodāttasvara by upottamam riti (6-1-211).

**Kelimara upasamkhyānam:** Kātyāyana s Vārtika for another kṛtya-pratyaya - kelimar - pacelimāḥ paktavyāḥ māśāḥ - apparently the pratyaya is exhibited by Bhāṣyakāra (9) in karmārtha. Kāśikā-vṛttikāra says that kelimar is in karmakarṭṛ, i.e. where karma itself is kartā (pacelimam means cooking on its own). Dadarśa mālūraphalam pacelimam - is the usage of Śrīharṣa in Naiṣadhiyacarita.

**Vasestavyat kartari ṇicca, taddhito vā:** This is like tailac/taila, goṣṭhac/goṣṭha in Taddhitas - Vāstavya is the Śabda. Kātyāyana analyses the Śabda as a kṛdanta as well as a taddhitānta - vas is the dhātu, it gets tavya in kartrārtha and becomes ṇit as well - the result is vāstavyaḥ. On the other hand, vāstuni bhavaḥ - vāstavyaḥ - vāstu + yat (digādibhyo yat 4-3-54, under the Adhikāra - tatra bhavaḥ, 4-3-53).

The analysis of the term vāstavya (10) indicates that it is the endeavour of Vaiyākaraṇas to show the breakup of nityaśabdas in order to certify that they are Śabdas (i.e. not apaśabdas) and therefore fit for usage as well as for attaining Dharma. The device (upāya) in the analysis may differ but the product is the same. Hari explains that an upāya is that which is taken up for some purpose and at the end of the work it is left behind and there is no any norm so far as the upāyas are concerned.

**Hanasta ca (3-1-108):** When a subanta is upapada han-dhātu would get kyap-pratyaya and ta as antādeśa - bhrūṇahatyā, śvahatyā. Since supi would come (from vadaḥ supi kyapca 3-1-106) as anuvṛtti, bare hatyā as a word is not acceptable.

**Bhṛṇo'samjñāyām (3-1-112):** It will be bhr̥tyaḥ (servant) if not a Samjñā - due to pakāra in kyap, tuk would come as āgama by



*hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* (6-1-71). In *Samjñā nyat* would come by *rhalorṇyat* (3-1-124) - *bhāryā*.

*Amāvasyadanyatarasyām* (3-1-122): The *avyaya* - *amā* means *saha* (with). Both Sun and Moon live together on this day and *amāvas + nyat = amāvāsyā*. *Amāvāsyā* is a *yat-pratyayānta*. *Amāvāsyā tvamāvāsyā darśaḥ sūryendusangamaḥ* - *Amarakośa*.

*Vacośabdasaṃjñāyām* (7-3-67): *yat-pratyaya* on *vac-vācyam*. This *Sūtra* restricts *kutva* if it is not a name of a *Śabda*. *Vākyam* is the counter example.

*Praiṣātisargaprāptakāleṣu kṛtyāśca* (3-3-163): *Ca* is for *lot*. *Praiṣa* means *vidhi*, *atisarga* is permission to do as one likes, *prāptakāla* is the right time. *bhāvatā yaṣṭavyam*, *guruṇā bhoktavyam*, *tvayā gantavyam* / *gamaṇīyam* / *gamyam*.

*Arhe kṛtyatṛcaśca* (3-3-169): *Arha* is *fit* - *stotumarhaḥ stutyah*

*Śaki liṅca* (3-3-172): In the sense of capable - *voḍhum śakyo voḍhavyaḥ* / *vahaniyaḥ* / *vāhyaḥ* (capable of carrying).

*Kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam* (3-3-113): *Kṛtyas* and *lyuṭ* in other senses - *diyate asmaḥ dāniyaḥ vipraḥ*.

*Ṇvultṛcau* (3-1-133): Two *pratyayas* in *kartrārtha* (*kartari kṛt* 3-4-67) - *kāraḥ* / *kartā*. *Voḍhumarhaḥ voḍhā* (trc by *arhe kṛtyatṛcaśca* 3-1-133). Due to *bahulam* (11) in *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam* (3-3-113) - *pādābhyām hriyate pādahāraḥ* - *ṇvul karmani*.

*Nandigrahipacāḍibhyo lyuṇinyacaḥ* (3-1-134): *Nandyādidhātus* would get *lyuṭ*, *grahyādis* get *ṇini* and *pacādis* ac - *nandanah*, *grāhī*, *pacaḥ*. *Kātyāyana* amends - *ajapi sarvadhātubhyaḥ* - *bhavaḥ*, *savaḥ*. This is what is popularly called - *pacādyac*. *Pāṇini* suggested, that *pacādi* is an *ākṛtigāṇa*, thru usages like *kare* (*śivaśamarīṣṭasya kare* (4-4-143) and *ghaṭaḥ* (*karmani ghaṭo'ṭhaḥ* 5-2-35).

*Gehe kaḥ* (3-1-144): *Grah-dhātu* would get *ka-pratyaya* in the sense of a house-grham.

*Śilpini ṣvun* (3-1-145): *Śilpam* is expertise. *Kātyāyana* regulates - *ṇṭikhanirañjibhya eva*. *Nartakaḥ* - *nartakī*, *khanakaḥ* - *khanakī*, *rajakaḥ* - *rajakī*.

*Karmanyaṇ* (3-2-1): When a *karmavācaka* is *upapada* the *dhātu* would get *aṇ-pratyaya*. *Upapadamatiṇ* (2-2-19) - *upapadasamāsa-kumbham karotīti kumbhakāraḥ* (potter), *nagarakāraḥ* (town-planner). Here *karmani* refers to *nirvartya* and *vikārya* - asserts *Kātyāyana* (12) - the *karma* defined by *karturīpsitatamam karma* (1-4-49) is of three types as explained by *Hari* - *nirvartyam*, *vikāryam* and *prāpyam*. A thing which does not have the cause or wherein the cause is not mentioned (*avivakṣita*) - both are called *nirvartya* - *samyogam karoti*, *ghaṭam karoti*. If the *prakṛti* (cause) is mentioned then it is *vikāryakarma* - *mṛdam ghaṭam karoti* (making a pot with clay). *Prāpyakarma* is that wherein no change is noticed through either *Pratyakṣa* or *Anumāna* (Perception / Inference) - *Ādityam paśyati*, *grāmam gacchati*. In both the examples no change has taken place - by looking no change has taken place in the Sun and by going, the village did not undergo any change. *Prāpyakarma* is not the subject of this *Sūtra* (i.e. *karmani*). Further, *Kātyāyana* (13) says that since there is no usage (of *aṇpratyayāntaśabda*) in the case of *prāpyakarma* there is no *aṇpratyaya*. Rather in the sense of *niyukta* (employed) *aṇpratyaya* is seen (*yatra ca niyuktaḥ* - *Kātyāyana*) - *chatradhāraḥ* (umbrella-holder), *dvārapālaḥ* (gate-keeper) - these examples fall under *prāpyakarma*.

*Ātmamāne khaśca* (3-2-83): *Khaś-pratyaya* in the sense of *ātmamāna*, i.e. if one thinks himself (others won't say so) - one who thinks himself that he is a *paṇḍita* is called *paṇḍitammanyah*. *ini-pratyaya* due to *cakāra* - *paṇḍitammānī*.

*Brahmabhrūṇavṛtreṣu kvip* (3-2-87): *Kvip-pratyaya* would come on *han-dhātu* in *bhūtārtha* when *brahma*, *bhrūṇa* and *vṛtra* are *upapadas*. *Kvip* is a *sarvalopi-pratyaya*, i.e. the *pratyaya* disappears completely. The purpose is that the examples - *brahmahā*, *bhrūṇahā* and *vṛtrahā* would become *kṛdantas* and as per the norm - *kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca* (1-2-46) become *Prātīpadikas* and get *sup*s. *Subantam* is *Padam*.

**Karmaṇīnivikriyaḥ (3-2-93):** Kātyāyana adds - karamaṇi kutsite . Ghee should not be sold as per Dharmasāstra. When karmavācaka is upapada vi + kr would get ini -pratyaya, should the thing denoted by karmavācaka is restricted from trading - ghṛtavikrayī, somavikrayī.

**Saptamyām janerdaḥ (3-2-97):** When saptamyanta is upapada janī dhātu would get da-pratyaya, tilopa - sarasi jātam sarasi jam (a lotus born in a pond).

**Upasarge ca samjñāyām (3-2-99):** If upasarga is upapada and if it is going to become a name then janī would get da-pratyaya-prajāḥ (people).

**Niṣṭhā (3-2-102):** Kta and ktavatu - both the pratyayas are called - niṣṭhā (ktaktavatū niṣṭhā, 1-1-26). In bhūtakāla these pratyayas are applied. Kta is in the sense of bhāva and karma (following tayoreva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ, 3-4-70) whereas ktavatu is in kartrārtha (following kartari kṛt, 3-4-67) - kṛtaḥ -kṛtavān. There are a number of applications involving both these pratyayas. Therefore, Pāṇini had given a separate name to these two pratyayas - for brevity - niṣṭhāyāmaṇyadarthe (6-4-60), radābhyām niṣṭhāto naḥ pūrvasya ca daḥ (8-2-42), niṣṭhā ca (6-1-105) etc.

**Radābhyām niṣṭhāto naḥ pūrvasya ca daḥ (8-2-42):** Two sentences (Sūtras) are combined into one. Niṣṭhātakāra on ra and da would become nakāra and the preceding dakāra also becomes nakāra - chid + ta chinnaḥ, bhid + ta bhinnaḥ.

**Divō vijigīṣāyām (8-2-49):** The niṣṭhātakāra on div-dhātu would be replaced by nakāra if not in the sense of vijigīṣa (a desire to conquer / win) - dyūnaḥ. In vijigīṣa - dyūtam (gambling).

**Śuśaḥ kaḥ, paco vaḥ, kṣāyo maḥ (8-2-51, 52, 53):** The niṣṭhātakāra is replaced by ka, va and ma in case of dhātus-śuś, pac and kṣai - śuśkaḥ, pakvaḥ and kṣāmaḥ.

**Rṇamādhamaṇye (8-2-60):** Adhamarṇa is lonee (uttamarṇa is loner). Kta-pratyaya on ṛ-dhātu - ṛṇa is a nipāta (prescription) in

the sense of lone. Rtam is the counter example and it means satyam (truth).

**Ninadībhyām snāteḥ kauśale (8-3-89):** The sakāra in ktāntaśabda - snāta- upon ni and nadi would be replaced by śakāra if the words denote expertise - niṣṇātaḥ śāstreṣu, nadyām kuśalam snāti - nadiṣṇaḥ.

**Sūtram pratiṣṇātam (8-3-90):** Śatva to sakāra on prati if it qualifies a Sūtram - it means the Sūtra is impeccable.

**Matibuddhipūjārthebhyasca (3-2-188):** Kta-pratyaya in vartamānā-kāla. Here mati means icchā (desire) as buddhi is also taken by Ācārya (buddhirmaniṣādhiṣaṇādhiḥ prajñā śemuṣī matiḥ - Amarakośa). The cakāra indicates that there are more (anuktasamuccayārtha). Mataḥ, buddhaḥ, pūjitaḥ, arcitaḥ etc.

**Napumsake bhāve ktaḥ (3-3-114):** If the bhāva is associated with klibatva kta-pratyaya would come in general, i.e. no specific time like present, past etc. Jalpitam, śayitam, hasitam etc. Patañjali (and Kaiyaṭa) under ṇeradhyayane vṛttam (7-1-26) clearly says that this kta-pratyaya applies only on akarmakas. In examples like gatam, bhuktam etc. akarmakatva is due to avivakṣitakarmatva (karmatva is not intended).

**Jīryateratṛṇ (3-2-104):** Jṛṣ (vayohānu) - a Divādidhātu will get atṛṇ-pratyaya in bhūtakāla - jaran jarantaḥ jarantaḥ. Vāsarūpo striyām - kta & ktavatu - jirṇaḥ / jirṇavān. Jaran sounds and looks like śatr-pratyayānta. A single Sūtra for both the pratyayas by niṣṭhā would facilitate application of both in cases like this. On the other hand, Vāsarūpavidhi results in a single pratyaya. Nakāra is for ādyudāttasvara.

**Chandasi liṭ, liṭaḥ kānāvā, kvasuśca (3-2-105, 106, 107):** All the three Munis, viz. Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali agree that both kānac and kvasu are exclusively vedic, i.e. they cannot be used in Loka - bandhe vṛtrasya yadvadbaddhānasya rodasī, tvamarṇavān baddhānām aramṇaḥ.



*Kātyāyana* (14) and *Patañjali* (15) had a useful discussion about the *kittva* in *kānac* - initially it is proposed by the former that for *samyogāntas kittva* is needed, i.e. *asamyogāntas* are taken care of by *asamyogālliṭ kit* (1-2-5) - the purpose of *ñittva* or *kittva* is to arrest *Guṇa* and *Vṛddhi* and here *ñittva* effects *upadhālopa*. *Patañjali* dismisses this proposition - both *kānac* and *kvasu* are *vedic*. In *Veda liṭ* becomes *sārvadhātukam* and *ñit* as well (*chandasyubhayathā*, 3-4-117); *sārvadhātukamapit*, 1-2-4, *apitsārvadhātukam nīdvat syāt*) and therefore *upadhālopa* will take place. *Kātyāyana* (16) offers another benefit-to arrest *Guṇa* in *ṛkāraṇtadhātus*. *Patañjali* (17) (save for his usage *papuṣaḥ*, a *kvasu-pratyayānta* under 4-3-24), seems to be forwarding this view.

*Jinendrabuddhi* (18), the author of *Nyāsa* had slightly different argument - *kitkaraṇa* is useful in cases that are *samyogāntas* like - *bandha* (*bandhane*). As far as *asamyogāntas* are concerned there is one *Sūtra* - *asamyogālliṭ kit* (1-2-5). In fact, *kittva* to *samyogāntas* is useful in *Loka* and not *Veda* as there is - *chandasyubhayathā* (3-4-117). There is no any specific benefit in *Veda* due to *kittva* or *ñittva*. On the other hand *kittva* is useful in *Loka* - *nipapurāṇa iti* (*ni + pr + kānac*). Therefore, this is a sign (*jñāpaka*) to decide that *kānac* can be used in *Loka*.

*Patañjali* under *vibhāṣā pūrvāhñāparāhñābhyām* (4-3-24) used a *kvasupratyayānta* - *papuṣa āgatām papivadrūpyam* and this indicates that *kvasu* can be used in *Loka* also - *śreyāmsi sarvāṇyadhijagmuṣaste* (*Raghuvaṃśa* 5-34).

While *Dīkṣita* says that poets have crossed the boundaryline (*Kaumudī*) - *Nāgeśa* in *Udyota* under *vibhāṣā pūrvāhñāparāhñābhyām* (4-3-24) remarks that the usage - *papuṣaḥ* by *Patañjali* insinuates the fact (advanced by some) that in *Loka* also *kvasu* is used occasionally.

*Upeyivānanāśvānanūcānaśca* (3-2-109): All the three are *kvasu-pratyayāntas* read as *nipātas*. In *upeyivān kvasu* is *nitya*, i.e. no *liṭ* in *bhūta*. The *upasarga* in this word is not important - says *Kāśikā*. This is due to the term *bahulam* coming from *bahulam chandasi* (3-2-88) - explains the author of *Nyāsa* (19). *Patañjali* (20) says that *īy*

is the *nipātana* and here *Kaiyaṭa* says that there is another version - *īy*. *Nāgeśa* (21) takes the line that the *dīrghapāṭha* as well as the pronunciation without sandhi should be seen as the origin of *avivakṣa* of *upasarga*. He also refers to others who accepted the other version *īy* and *avivakṣa* has got no authority and therefore *upeyivān* only is *sādhū* in *Loka*, whereas *īyivān* etc. is due to *varṇavyatya* in *Veda*.

In *anūcāna*, explains *Patañjali* (22) following *Kātyāyana* (23), the *pratyaya* is in *kartrārtha* and it will be *anūktam* elsewhere, i.e. in *bhāva* and *karma*.

*Laṭaśśatṛśānacāvaprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe* (3-2-124): *Pacan* and *pacamāna* are examples. *Vartamāne laṭ* (3-2-123) is the earlier *Sūtra*. While *laṭ* is coming to this *Sūtra*, the use of the word *laṭaḥ* suggests that *śatṛ* and *śānac* - both the *pratyayas* are seen in *prathamāsamānādhikaraṇya* also occasionally - *san brāhmaṇaḥ*. *Kātyāyana* adds an amendment - *māni ākrośe iti vācyam* (*vārtikam* 2109) - *mājīvanyaḥ parāvajñāduḥkhadagdho'pi jīvati* (*Śiśupālavadha* 2-45) - a person who is burnt by the insult of enemies but is still alive - damn it - this is used blaming a person. In *Sambodhana* (addressing) also *śatṛ* and *śānac* are employed (*sambodhane ca*, 3-2-125) - he *pacan*, he *pacamāna*. Both the *pratyayas* are used optionally in the place of *lṛṭ* (future tense) - *tau sat*, *lṛṭaḥ sadvā* (3-2-127, 3-3-14) - *kariṣyantam*, *kariṣyamāṇam paśya*, he *kariṣyan*.

*Vadeśśaturvasuḥ* (7-1-36): The *śatṛ* on *vida* (*jñāne*) would be optionally replaced by *vasu* - *vidvān* / *vidan*, *viduṣī* (*ñip*).

*Pūñyajoh śānan* (3-2-128): In *vartamānakāla* - *pavamānaḥ*, *yajamānaḥ*. Unlike the *śānac-pratyaya* this will not come in the place of any *lakāra* but independent and it is in *kartrārtha*.

*Trn* (3-2-135): Upto *kvip* *pratyaya* (3-2-177) all the *pratyayas* starting with *trn* are to be applied in *tacchīla* (nature), *taddharma* (duty / dharma) and *tatsādhukārī* (an expert) as per the *Sūtra* - *ākvestacchīlataddharmatatsādhukārīṣu* (3-2-134). *Trc-pratyaya*

would cause antodāttasvara (or krtsvara) by *gati-kāra-kopapadāt kṛt* (6-2-139) whereas *tr̥n* causes *pūrvapada-prakṛtisvara* by *tādaṁ ca niti kṛtyataṁ*, *gati-ranantaraḥ* (6-2-50, 49) - explain Nyāsakāra and Kaiyaṭa.

**taddharma:** *muṇḍayitāraḥ śrāviṣṭhāyanā bhavanti vadhūmūḍhām* (Kāśikā) - here *muṇḍayitāraḥ* is *tr̥nnanta* (those who make clean-shaven) - *śrāviṣṭhāyanas* are people of a country. They, as a custom get the bride's head clean-shaven.

**tacchīla:** *kartā kaṭam* (a mat-maker) - it is a habit to make mats - one who does things without expecting anything in return.

**tatsādhukārī:** *kartā kaṭam* - an expert in making mats.

**Uṇādayo bahulam** (3-3-1): *Kṛvāpājimisvadisādhyaśūbhya uṇ* - is the first of Uṇādisūtras composed by another grammarian, Śākaṭāyana. Since the first *pratyaya* is *uṇ* they are called Uṇādi, *Kāruḥ*, *vāyuḥ*, *jāyuḥ* etc. are the nouns, that have emerged thru this Sūtra by adding *uṇ*-*pratyaya* on *kṛ* etc. roots in *varṭamānakāla*. Pāṇini thru the present Sūtra wants to certify these grammatical applications and the resulting Śabdās as fit for usage. Rather, since Śākaṭāyana's Uṇādisūtras are not exhaustive, Pāṇini employed the term *bahulam* (24) which, as was already explained, is useful in accommodating the unsaid but required further grammatical applications. Nāgeśa (25) remarks that even Brahman (the Creator) cannot offer the complete list of roots and suffixes.

**Vyutpattipakṣa and Avyutpattipakṣa:** There are two sides so far as the form of Śabdās is concerned - *Nairuktas* and *Śākaṭāyana* claim that all nouns (*nāma*) is the pre-Pāṇinian name for Pāṇini's *Prātipadikam* are produced by adding different *pratyayas* to *dhātus* (roots) whereas others hold that the analysis of *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* is artificial and there are readymade words for use and they are eternal (*nitya*) like a *pravāha* (stream). Under the present Sūtra Kātyāyana (26) and Patañjali (27) refer to *Vyutpattipakṣa* of *Nairuktas* and *Śākaṭāyana*. Both have suggested that as per the

grammatical applications required, the *anubandhas* (*itsamjñas*) in Uṇādis are to be guessed.

Then what about Pāṇini? Does he support *Vyutpattipakṣa* or *Avyutpattipakṣa*? - Nāgeśa had an elaborate discussion on this issue in *Laghuśabdenduśekhara*. The conclusion was that Pāṇini's was *Avyutpattipakṣa* only -

Apparently, Pāṇini, no doubt, instituted rules, i.e. *kṛts* and forwarded Uṇādi suggesting that *nāmas* can be produced thru root and suffix combination. Rather under - *āyaneyinīyiaḥ phadḥakhachaghām* *pratyayādīnām*, 7-1-2, Patañjali (28), quoting Kātyāyana says that Pāṇini prefers *Avyutpattipakṣa* - Kātyāyana amends the above Sūtra by a *Vārtika* - *tatroṇādipratīṣedhaḥ*, which means that a restriction be made so that the above *ādeśās* - *āyan*, *ey* etc. won't apply in Uṇādis. The result is that *śaṅkhaḥ* (conch) *śaṇḍhaḥ* (an impotent man) etc. which are Uṇādyantas are not affected by this Sūtra. He further adds one more *Vārtika* - *dhātorveyaṇvacanāt*. *Rṛṇīyaṇ* (3-1-29) - is a Sūtra by which *r-* *dhātu* would receive a *pratyaya* - *īyaṇ*. So this is a *dhātupratyaya*. And in case it is acceptable to Pāṇini that *prātipadikas* are produced thru root and suffix combination (*Vyutpatti*) then he would have read - *rteśchaṇ* and by 7-1-2 one would get *rṭīya*. Since Pāṇini composed such a Sūtra it becomes a *jñāpaka* (sign) to conclude that he suggests *Avyutpattipakṣa*. Against this background Kātyāyana amends further - *prātipadikavijñānācca pāṇineḥ siddham*, which means that Pāṇini believes - Uṇādis are *avyutpannaprātipadikas*. (*uṇādayo'vyutpannāni prātipadikāni* - *Vārtikam*).

Under *nityam samāse'nuttarapadasthasya* (8-3-45), Kātyāyana (29) says that following *Avyutpattipakṣa*, *sarpis* etc. will get *nityaśatva* by this Sūtra and to get *vikalpa* by *isusoḥ sāmārthyē* (8-3-44) in cases like *paramasarpīṣkuṇḍikā* (which is a *Vākya*) *vyapekṣā* has to be resorted to (Nāgeśa) (30) and the restriction - *anuttarapadasthasya* is required. Jinendrabuddhi explained this under 8-3-44.

The word *Kamsa* in addition to *Kamidhātu* in *ataḥ kṛkami* - *kamsakumbhapātrakuśākarṇiṣvanavyayasya* (8-3-46) (31) is also a



sign to conclude that Pāṇini is a follower of Avyutpattipakṣa - the word kamsa can be produced by applying sa-pratyaya (an uṇādi) on kami-dhātu, then there is no need to separately read kamsaśabda in the above Sūtra unless one does not accept that nāmas can be produced by combining dhātus and pratyayas. Under - ādeśapratyayayoḥ (8-3-59) this aspect is discussed by Patañjali, Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa.

Finally, Nāgeśa (32) under 8-3-59 explains the meaning of the present Sūtra, i.e. uṇādayo bahulam - uṇādyantaśabdas are produced thru, prakṛti and pratyaya in another Vyākaraṇa and there for the rest of the applications, the term bahulam is required, whereas in my Śāstra (i.e. Pāṇini's) these Śabdas are avyutpannas and for some applications (ṣatva in sarpiṣaḥ, yajuṣaḥ etc.) bahulam is required.

Hari (33) in Vākyakāṇḍa of Vākyapadīya registered both these pakṣas - due to its form only (i.e. svarūpa is the pravṛttinimitta) gośabda delivers the meaning and one need not try for any derivation of any Śabda (Avyutpatti according to Aukthikya etc.) whereas some scholars argue that both, its person and the meaning delivered by it, are to be taken into consideration (Vyutpatti).

**Bhāve (3-3-18):** Ghañ from padarujaviśasprśo ghañ (3-3-16) is coming as anuvṛtti. The word bhāva itself is ghañ-pratyayānta. What about strīliṅga and napumsakaliṅga? (bhūtau and bhavane) - Patañjali (34) says that the pumliṅga is to be ignored - i.e. since one should exhibit by some liṅga or the other, pumliṅga is taken, same is the case with ekavacana also. Nāntariyakatvam - is a term used to express the concept - na + antarā + cha - is the prakīryā. It means inevitability, i.e. since one has to use a pada, and not either a prakṛti or pratyaya, to express an idea, there should necessarily be some liṅga and some vacana - one cannot get rice without chaff, it is first paddy and after removing the husk rice is attained.

Patañjali offers another solution - rather both sāmānya and viśeṣa are being expressed. Sāmānya (35) is that which penetrates into all viśeṣas but viśeṣa cannot penetrate into all sāmānyas. Bhāva is sāmānya, it means the dhātvartha in the form of siddha (visible /

tangible or having a concrete form). For example - pac (to cook) is the dhātu - ghañ bhāve - pākaḥ. Here there is sāmānya in the form of siddhatva (expressed by the term bhāva) and the viśeṣa - cooking. Similarly - tyaj (to give up) - bhāve ghañ - tyāgaḥ. The liṅga and vacana depend upon the pratyaya - kṛtin - paktiḥ, lyuṭ-pacanam.

Hari (36) tried to explain the concept in a different way - bhāve means bhāve iva (like in the case of bhāva), i.e. on bhū-dhātu it will be bhāva in bhāvārtha. Similarly, on pac it will be pāka (cooking) - i.e. the Sūtra is like a simile (upamāna). Therefore, since the liṅga served its purpose in (upamāna) nirdeśa it is to be ignored (atantram).

Patañjali (37), while explaining as to how a single Śabda (bhāve) can serve two purposes, i.e. denoting sāmānya and viśeṣa offered a simile - a teacher has got two disciples and one of them is his nephew, i.e. the teacher is maternal uncle to one of them. The first of them asked the second to salute the teacher. He saluted his uncle. The second one asked the first one to salute his uncle. He saluted the teacher. The point to note is that the same person can be a teacher (sāmānya) and uncle (viśeṣa) at a time. Hari (38) also explicated the simile.

The literal meaning of the term bhāva is dhātvartha (39) (the meaning of the verb).

Under sārvaadhātuke yak (3-1-67) Patañjali (40) explains (and clarifies) the difference between two types of bhāvas, i.e. the one expressed by a tiṅanta (verb) and a kṛdanta (noun) - the kṛdabhihitabhāva is like dravya, it gets connection with a verb or in other words, it becomes a sādhana (kāraṇa) - pāko vartate. On the other hand, a kriyā does not get connection with a kriyā - pacati, paṭhati (the siddhānta is that kṛdanta expresses siddha whereas tiṅanta expresses sādhya and sattva and dravya are synonyms of siddha), tiṅabhihitabhāva will have kāla, puruṣa and upagrahas and kṛdabhihitabhāva does not have these things, tiṅantavācya would certainly have kartrākāṅkṣā and kṛdantavācya as well as kṛdantavācyaabhāva only would have liṅga and samkhyā and not the other.

*Hari (41) explained these lines in Vākyapadīya. He (42) also adds that in words like pāka, the dhātu (pac) expresses sādhyā and ghañ (pratyaya) expresses the siddha. The same is the case with la-kṛtya-  
kta-khalartha-avyayakṛt - rūdhi - niṣṭhā - ghañ etc.*

**Karmavyatihāre ṇac striyām (3-3-43):** *Karmavyatihāra is mutual activity - vyāvakrośa, añ - a Taddhita by ṇacaḥ striyāmañ (5-4-14) and nīp in strīliṅga by ṭiḍḍhāṇaṇdvayasajdaghnāñmā tractayapṭhakṭhañkañkvarapaḥ (4-1-15) - vyāvakrośī - the activity where people blame each other, vyāvahāsi - the activity where people make merry in a mutual fashion. The aijāgama is checked by na karmavyatihāre (7-3-6).*

**Ikṣtipau dhātunirdeśe (vārtikam under (3-3-108):** *If a dhātu has to be mentioned it can be ik or śtip - paciḥ / pacatiḥ.*

**Varṇātkāraḥ (ibid):** *In order to mention a varṇa (letter) kāra-pratyaya is used - akāraḥ, kakāraḥ etc.*

**Rādiphaḥ (ibid):** *Ra - varṇa would get ipha, not kāra - repaḥ.*

**Matvarthācchaḥ (ibid):** *Matvarthiyah - is used in Vyākaraṇa.*

**Vibhāṣākhyānaparipraśnāyoriṇca (3-3-110):** *In (the sense of) answer and question iñ-pratyaya also comes as vibhāṣā. As a result there will be five forms of the same dhātu in the same sense - kāriḥ - iñ, kārikā - ṇvul due to cakāra in this Sūtra (ṇvultṛcau, 3-1-133), kriyā - śa by kṛṇaḥ śa ca, 3-3-100, kṛtyā - kyap due to cakāra in 3-3-100, kṛtiḥ - ktin by striyām ktin, 3-3-94. Similarly paciḥ - pācikā - pacā - paktiḥ etc.*

## TADDHITAVṚTTIḤ

*Taddhitāḥ (4-1-76) is an Adhikārasūtra that gives the name Taddhita to hundreds of Pratyayas which are instituted on Subantas. The plural number (unlike kṛdatiḥ 3-1-93 which is in singular number) in the above Sūtra suggests that there can be some Taddhitas which are not said in Aṣṭādhyāyī.*

*Taddhitamūḍho vaiyākaraṇaḥ! taddhitamūḍho'vaiyākaraṇaḥ - is a saying which is popularly used by grammarians to suggest that the knowledge of Taddhitas is essential to be called a Vaiyākaraṇa (grammarian). The first sentence (in verbal usage there is only one sentence) means that one who is burdened (taddhitam + ūḍhaḥ) is fit to be called a Vaiyākaraṇa. The latter one implies that one who is ignorant of Taddhitas (taddhita + mūḍhaḥ) is a non-vaiyākaraṇa.*

*Patañjali (1) in Paspasā comments that the southerners (like Kātyāyana) are fond of Taddhitas.*

*Pāṇini wanted the name Taddhita for a couple of Strīpratyayas and therefore read this sūtra in Strīpratyayaprakaraṇa. Since Taddhitapratyayas are meant to prepare padas (words) the Paribhāṣā, samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ (2-1-1) applies here. When there is Ekārthībhāva, then there will be Vṛtti and in its absence Vākya will be there - aupagavaḥ / upagoḥ apatyam.*

*After effecting a Taddhitapratyaya, the stem, like aupagava would become a Prātipadika and consequently gets sup in order to become a Subanta as per the Sūtra - kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca (1-2-46).*

*Taddhitavṛtti is started with samarthānām prathamādvā (4-1-82) by Pāṇini. While discussing the utility of each word in the above Sūtra, Patañjali, quoting Kātyāyana, suggests that the Sūtra (as well as samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ 2-1-1) is not required - vyākaraṇasāstra is an instrument which analyses (thru grammatical applications) the Śabdas that are already used in Veda (2) and Loka. A Śabda which is samartha (capable) in rendering the meaning only*



is taken up for analysis. Therefore the term *samarthānām* (3) (and *samarthaḥ*) is not necessary. If a *Pratyaya* is generated on a non-*prathama* that won't be capable to render the meaning. So the term *prathamāt* is not required. *Vā* says *Vṛtti* is optional. In fact, both *Vṛtti* and *Vākya* will be there in usage. Neither is going to replace the other. In such a case *vā* is not required.

**Avivakṣa in Taddhitas:** *Tasyāpatyam* (4-1-92) is a *Sūtra* which says that *aṇ, iñ* etc. *pratyayas* will be there in the sense - his progeny. This is called *arthanirdeśa* (instructing the meaning) and this *Sūtra* goes into other *Sūtras* like - *ata iñ* (4-1-95) as *anuvṛtti* - the son of *Dāśaratha* is called *Dāśarathi* (*dāśarathasya apatyam pumān* - is the *vigraha*). Since *tasya* is preferably in *pumliṅga*, the *pratyaya* instituted by the above *Sūtra* on *sumātā* etc. cannot be effected. Similarly if the progeny is in plural this *Sūtra* cannot be effected. Rather since in some *liṅga* or the other and in some *vacana* or the other the instruction should be given, *Pumliṅga* and *Ekavacana* are preferred. As such they are not to be taken as expressed - which is technically called *atantra* or *avivakṣita* (4).

In fact, in many places across *Vyākaraṇaśāstra*, the *Samkhyā* and *Liṅga* are not expressed. In case of *Samkhyā* there are exceptions like *supsupā* (5) (only one *subanta* will get *Samāsa* with one *subanta*).

**Gotra-yuva-samjñas (6) and kinship terms:** The treatment of kinship terms in *Taddhitas* is very interesting to note. From the third generation (*pautra*) onwards progeny would get the name *gotram* (*vṛddha* is the corresponding name of pre-Pāṇinian grammarians). Rather, if any one of the persons related to the clan, like father, etc. is alive then the generation after *pautra* (i.e. fourth one etc.) would get the name *yuva*. Similarly, if the elder brother (7) is alive (in case the father etc. are dead), the younger ones starting with the fourth one would get the name *yuva*. On the other hand, if another *sapiṇḍa* (including self upto seven generations on both sides, i.e. father and mother, the term *sapiṇḍa* applies) of the brother, who is better/elder in terms of place and age (*sthaviratare*) is alive, then the progeny starting with *pautra*, if alive, would get the name *yuva* optionally.

The *tarap* in *sthaviratare* suggests that if a person more respectable and elder in age, like father's brother (*pitṛvya*), mother's father (*mātāmaha*), and brother (of *pitṛvya* or *mātāmaha*) is alive. Ex. the progeny of *gārgya* can be *gārgyāyaṇa* or *gārgya* (*gārgyasyāpatyam gārgyāyaṇaḥ gārgyo vā*). If the conditions are not met then there will be only *gotrasamjñā* and as a result, only one term, i.e. *gārgya*, will be there.

**Regulations:** If one goes by the above said procedure then there will be ninety nine *pratyayas* in case one wants to mention, the one hundredth man. In order to avoid such a situation Pāṇini said *eko gotre* (8) - there will be only one *pratyaya* in *gotra*. Another similar *Sūtra*, i.e. *gotrādyūnyastriyām* says that if one wants to effect a *pratyaya* in *yuvāpatya* it should be on a *gotrapratyayānta* (i.e. only one *gotrapratyaya* will be there in case of female) - *gargasyāpatyam strī gārgī*.

**Gotram:** The term *gotram* is used by Pāṇini in many *Sūtras*. There is one *gotra* that is popular with people (*pravarādhyāya-prasiddha*) and the other (is the one said above) that is there in *Apatyādhikāraprakaraṇa* (i.e. technical). *Patañjali* under *yūni luk* (4-1-77), *striṇamsābhyām naṣṇaṇau bhavanāt* (4-1-87) etc. ruled that outside the *Apatyādhikāra* the *gotra* referred to by people or the so called *pravarādhyāyaprasiddhagotra* has to be taken. This is much useful in the interpretation of *Sūtras* like *yaskādibhyo gotre* (2-4-63).

**Kānīna:** The son of a virgin is called *kānīna* - *kanyāyāḥ kaṇīna ca* (4-1-116). *Patañjali* (9) in this context had a beautiful discussion - the *Sūtra* seems to be inappropriate as a *kanyā* cannot have progeny and one who has progeny cannot be a *kanyā*. Therefore, *kanyā* and *apatyam* are incompatible. Then he clarifies that simply by having a physical relation with a man, *kanyā* does not forfeit *kanyātva* (virginity), rather it is possible if she is married thru *vedic* rituals. Thus if a *kanyā* gives birth to a child, before she underwent the marriage as per scriptures, then the child is called *kānīna* (male), ex. *Vyāsa* and *Karṇa* (of *Mahābhārata* fame).

**Tadrājasamjñā:** Tadrāja (10) is a name given to five pratyayas, viz. *añ*, *aṇ*, *ñyañ*, *ṇya* and *iñ*, instituted by six Sūtras. What is the speciality of Tadrājasamjñā? - the pratyaya would get luk (11) (disappearance) in plural number (this is not applicable to plural in feminine). Therefore, the declension will be like - *pāñcālāḥ pāñcālau pañcālāḥ* (otherwise the last paradigm should have been *pāñcālāḥ*).

**Tadadhīte tadveda (4-2-59):** One who studies it or knows it in both the senses *aṇ*-pratyaya would be applied. One who studies Vyākaraṇa or one who knows Vyākaraṇa is called Vaiyākaraṇa. Nyāya - Naiyāyikaḥ etc. Here under this Sūtra, Patañjali (12) rakes up a point - a person who studies, knows it too and vice versa, then why to say *adhīte veda*, either will do? He further clarifies that a person who studies (or recites) need not necessarily know it, he simply recites and one who knows need not certainly recite it. Therefore Ācārya mentioned both.

**Cāturarthikas:** A different style of Pāṇini - he read out four Sūtras (13) and in any one of these senses *aṇ* etc. pratyayas would be applied. Hence these pratyayas are called Cāturarthikas. If the sense - this is there in this country - is expressed and the word would be the name of a country, it is performed / built etc. by him, it is his abode and it is nearby - these are the four senses in which *aṇ*-pratyaya has to be applied.

**Ex:-** *udumbaras* (a kind of tree-Ficus Glomerata) are there in this country and hence the country is called Audumbara, *Kuśāmba* built the city and therefore, *Kauśāmbī*, *śibis* (people who descended from the famous Emperor Śibi) are living in this country, therefore the name of the country is Śaiba, the city, which is there in the vicinity of river Vidiśā is Vaidiśam. Sometimes the pratyaya is not seen (it disappears), especially in the case of Janapada (14) (an empire) - *pañcālas* are living here and the name of the country is *Pañcālāḥ*, *kurus* are living here and the name of the country is *Kuravaḥ*. Pāṇini, while injecting lup to Cāturarthika in case of Janapada, ruled that the *liṅga* and *vacana* of the paradigm would be like that of the *prakṛti* (15).

**Tiñanta:** *Ṭhak*-pratyaya is instituted thru Sūtras like - *tena dīvyati kḥanati jayati jitam* (4-4-2) - if one is either playing / winning with dice is called *ākṣikaḥ* (*akṣaiḥ dīvyati / jayati*), something that is won thru dice is called *ākṣikam* (*akṣaiḥ jitam*), one who is digging with a crowbar is called *kauddālikaḥ* (*kuddalena kḥanati kauddālikaḥ*).

The peculiarity is that Pāṇini expresses the sense, in which a pratyaya has to be effected, either thru Subantas or Tiñantas.

One who is living with salary etc. is called *vaitanikaḥ* (*vetanādibhyo jīvati* 4-4-12, *ṭhak*). One who is living with a weapon is called *āyudhīyaḥ* or *āyudhikaḥ* (*āyudhāccha ca* 4-4-14, *ṭhan.*).

One who has got the knowledge of *prakṛti* and pratyaya (of Śabdas) is called *śābdikaḥ* (*śābdam karoti śābdikaḥ* - *śābdadarduram karoti*, 4-4-34).

**Pakṣimatsyamṛgān hanti (4-4-35):** Kātyāyana says that in this Sūtra the form, synonyms and other kinds are to be taken (*svarūpasya paryāyāṇām viśeṣāṇām ca grahaṇam* - 523). Only *mīna* among the synonyms of *matsya* has to be taken. *Ṭhak*pratyaya is being instituted. One who is killing birds is *pākṣikaḥ* (*pakṣiṇo hanti*), *śakuna-śākunikaḥ*, *mayūra-māyūrikaḥ*, *matsya-mātsyikaḥ*, *mīna-mainikaḥ*, *mṛga-mārgikaḥ*, *sāraṅga-sāraṅgikaḥ*.

**Paripantham ca tiṣṭhati (4-4-36):** A dacoit who is around the (high) way - may be just away from the road or in the vicinity of the road, or a dacoit who kills around the road is *pāripanthikaḥ*, *ṭhak*pratyaya.

**Dharmam carati (4-4-41):** One who is following dharma is *dhārmika* (*ṭhak*), *Adhārmika* is in negative. Kātyāyana reads an amendment - *adharmācceti vaktavyam* (2966), therefore one who is following adharmam can be called *ādharma* (as well).

**Asti nāsti diṣṭam matih (4-4-60):** This is a Sūtra which institutes a Taddhita (*ṭhak*) on verbs (*tiñantas*). One who believes that another world is there-is called *āstikaḥ*, one who does not believe in the existence of the same is called *nāstikaḥ*, one who attributes everything to destiny is called *daiṣṭikaḥ*.



**Chatrādibhyo ṇaḥ (4-4-62):** Chatram means an umbrella. Patañjali (16) here says that there is *uttarapadalopa* - i.e. *chatramiva chatram*. A guru has to protect the śiṣya like a chatra and a śiṣya, like a chatra, has to conceal the faults of his guru, i.e. the secondary meaning, depending on the usage, has to be taken - *chātraḥ*. The primary meaning of *chātra* is one holding an umbrella.

**Vivakṣā:** *Tadasya tadasmin syāditi* (5-1-16) is a Sūtra where Pāṇini clearly says that if such and such a meaning is expressed by *śiṣṭaloka*, i.e. if such a usage is popular among *śiṣṭas*, then *cha-pratyaya* would come in two senses - this will do for that or that can be done within this - these bricks are sufficient for the boundary - *prākārīyā iṣṭakāḥ*, this wood is sufficient for this building - *prāsādiyam dāru*, this space is sufficient to build the boundary - *prākārīyaḥ deśaḥ*. The *iti-śabda* in the Sūtra suggests that there should be *laukikī vivakṣā* in both the cases, i.e. if one says *prāsādo devadattasya syāt* (this building may belong to Devadatta) the above said meaning(s) is not conveyed. Here Patañjali (17) elaborates the concept of *vivakṣā* - it is of two types - *prāyoktrī* and *laukikī*. In the former, some people for comfort, i.e. to avoid tongue-twisting etc., use *Śabdā* (rather *apaśabdā*) in a smooth and sensitive manner (using the tongue in such a way), whereas *laukikī vivakṣā* is that where people do really understand thru right usage, the message that is intended.

**Aikāgārikaḥ core (5-1-116):** A thief who aims at (*prayojanam*) a secluded (helpless) house is called *aikāgārikaḥ*. This is a *nipāta* - *ekāgāra* + *ikaḥ*, the *ṭakāra* is for *nīp* in *strīliṅga* (*tiḍḍhāṇāṇḍvayasajdaghnāṇmātractayapṭhakṭhāṇkaṇkvarapaḥ* 4-1-15) - such a female thief is *aikāgārikī*.

**Vati:** There are four Sūtras for instituting *vati* (like) - *tena tulyam kriyā cedvatiḥ*, *tatra tasyeva*, *tadarham* and *upasargacchandasi dhātvarthe* (5-1-115 to 118). The first three deal with *laukikaśabdā* and the last one is for *vaidikaśabdā*. The first Sūtra says that if one is doing/performing some activity like another (who is naturally expected to do) then there will be *vati-pratyaya* on *trītiyānta* - *kṣatriya* is reciting (Veda) like a *brāhmaṇa* (*brāhmaṇena tulyam adhīte kṣatriyaḥ*) then the usage will be *brāhmaṇavadadhīte kṣatriyaḥ*

(compare with *brāhmaṇa iva adhīte kṣatriyaḥ*, *brāhmaṇena tulyam adhīte kṣatriyaḥ*). The Sūtra is exclusively for *kriyā*. Therefore, if either *guṇa* or *dravya* is referred to there won't be the *pratyaya* - *putreṇa tulyaḥ sthūlaḥ* (he is stout on a par with his son), *caitreṇa tulyam dhanī maitraḥ* (Maitra is wealthy on a par with Caitra).

The second Sūtra says that if there is something (in/of a place/person etc.) like the one in/of another place/person etc. then *vati* will take place. The boundaries in *Srughna* are like the ones in *Mathurā* so *mathurāvat srughne prākārāḥ* (*mathurāyamiva mathurāvat srughne prākārāḥ*), *Caitrasyeva Caitravat maitrasya-bhāvaḥ* (the thinking/feeling of Maitra is like that of Caitra). So this Sūtra is for *guṇa* and *dravya*.

The third Sūtra deals with examples where one is doing something (*kriyā*) that fits him - *vidhimarhati* (he is fit to be treated as per the scriptures) *vidhivat pūjyate*. The word *kriyā* from 5-1-115 would jump into this Sūtra (*maṇḍūkapluti* / frog-leap).

The last Sūtra, as is evident, deals with *vedic usages* where *vati*, in *svārtha* - *yadudvato nivataḥ* (*udgatāt, nirgatāt*).

*Hari* (18), while discussing the third Sūtra, i.e. *tadarham*, opines that in other *Vyākaraṇas* like *Āpiśala* and *Kāśakṛtsna*, such a Sūtra is not there. The discussion of Patañjali, under this Sūtra did not say anything against the absence of such a Sūtra in other *Vyākaraṇas*. Therefore, following the norm, *apratishedham anumatam bhavati* (it is accepted which is not refuted), it can be deduced that *tadarham* is not required as thru creating *bheda* in the examples covered by this Sūtra, *upamānopameyabhāva* is possible and then the earlier Sūtra would take care of these examples as well. Rather, finally *Hari* (19) asserts that this is not the case - the sense *tadarham* can never be included in *tena tulyam* or *tatra tasyeva*. There is no *vivakṣā* of *upamānopameyabhāva* here. Therefore, Pāṇini was observing the phenomenon keenly and since it was not covered/dealt with by earlier *Vyākaraṇas* he made a Sūtra which is essential and this is the meaning of Patañjali's silence on the question of refutation of this Sūtra.

**Tasya bhāvastvatalau (5-1-119):** The term *bhāva* is the indicator of *jāti* or *sāmānyam*. *Harī* (20) in *Vākyapadīya* clarifies that *pratyayas* like *tva*, *tal*, *imanic*, *yat* etc. express *jāti* which is eternal (*nitya*) and the so called *sattā* or *ātmā* or *mahān* (according to *Sāmkhya*) and the same is described as *prātipadikārtha* and *dhātvartha* in *Pāṇinīyavyākaraṇa*. Therefore, since all *Śabdas* express *jāti*, the *bhāvapratyaya* can be added as per the usage. *Jāti* is the unique quality/property within, that separates one thing from the rest of the things in the universe. In *Vyākaraṇa*, *Guṇa* is used as a synonym to *Jāti* (see *Kātyāyana* in the present *Sūtra* and *Patañjali* under *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* 2-1-1).

There are two *liṅgānuśāsanāsūtras* - *tvāntam klībam*, *talantam striyām-gotvam/gotā*. The word ending in *tva* will be in neuter gender and the one ending in *tal* will be in feminine gender.

**Sāptapadīnam sakhyam (5-2-22):** Friendship is attained thru (speaking) seven words or thru (walking) seven feet. *Kha-pratyaya* is being instituted and the ready-made word or *nipāta* is offered by *Pāṇini* (*sakhyam sāptapadīnam syāt* - *Manusmṛti* and *maṇiṣibhissāptapadīnamucyate* - *Kālidāsa* in *Kumārasambhava*).

**Itac:** This is a *pratyaya* popularly seen across literature. *Tadasya samjātamiti tārakādibhya itac* (5-2-36) is the *Sūtra* which says that this has got it - in this sense *tārakā* etc. words would get *itac-pratyaya*. *Cakāra* in the *pratyaya* is useful for getting *antodāttasvara* (*Citaḥ* 6-1-163). The *nabhas* (sky) has got *tārakas* (stars) - *tārakitam*, *puspa-  
puspitam*, *phala-phalitam*, *pañḍā* (buddhi) - *pañḍitaḥ*.

**Goṣṭham - gogoṣṭham:** *Go* + *sthā* + *ka* (*ghañarthe kavīdhānam*) = *goṣṭham* - the place where cows stay (pen). This is a *kr̥tpratyayānta*. Subsequently due to comparison (*upamāna*) the place where birds stay is called *avigoṣṭham* and so on. Before compiling his *Vārtika* (*upamānādvā siddham*) to this effect, *Kātyāyana* (under *samprodaśca kaṭac*, 5-2-29) offered a *Vārtika* - i.e. *goṣṭhādayaḥ sthānādiṣu paśunāmabhyaḥ*, which says *goṣṭha-pratyaya* in the sense of place should be instituted on words denoting animals etc. Then the pen of

cows has to be called *gogoṣṭham* and there will be *avigoṣṭham*, *uṣṭragoṣṭham* (stable of camels) etc.

Similarly *tailam* is a *taddhitānta* - *tilānām vikāraḥ* - a *pratyaya* by *tasya vikāraḥ* 4-3-134, in the sense a changed form of sesame - i.e. sesame-oil. Rather this *Śabda* is popular in the sense of oil, i.e. any oil and therefore for sesame-oil it would be *tilatailam*.

In case the *tailac-pratyaya* is accepted, the popular word *tailam* is not covered. Same is the case with *goṣṭhac-pratyaya*, i.e. the popular word *goṣṭham* (pen) is affected. Therefore *upamānādvā siddham* (21) stands. The earlier *Vārtika* was, probably, to register the opinions of other *Vaiyākaraṇas* (*Gauḍas?*).

**Śitaka / uṣṇaka:** Both the words, *śita* and *uṣṇa*, are used in secondary sense or *lakṣyārtha* - one who does the job to be completed quickly, in a slow manner is called *śitaka*, the one who does the same job quickly is called *uṣṇaka*. The term *kārini* in the *Sūtra* denotes the sense - one with such a nature (*ṇini-pratyaya* is *tacchīla*) - *śitoṣṇābhyām kārini* (5-2-72). *Patañjali* explains - *uttarapadalopo' tra draṣṭavyaḥ*, *śitamiva śitam*, *uṣṇamiva uṣṇam*.

**Adhikam (5-2-73):** This is a *nipāta*. *Adhyārūḍha*, *kan*, *uttarapadalopa* - *adhikam* (more).

**Pārsvakah:** The word *pārsva* is in the sense of pretext. *Patañjali* explains - *pārsvamiva pārsvam*, *uttarapadalopo' tra draṣṭavyaḥ*, *yaḥ r̥junopāyena anveṣṭavyānarthān anr̥junopāyena anvicchati sa ucyate* - *pārsvaka iti* (one who wants to investigate things thru pretexts rather than reasons is called *pārsvaka*).

**Āyaśśūlikah:** The word *ayaśśūla* (iron dart) denotes hard means. One who wants to probe things (to be probed thru easy means) thru hard means is called *āyaśśūlikah* - *ayaśśūladanḍābhyām thakṭhaṇau* 5-2-76 (22).

**Śrotriyah:** This is a *nipāta*. A word *śrotriyah* is read in the sense of a sentence - one who recites *chandas* (*Veda*) - *śrotriyamśchando' dhīte* 5-2-84 - *chandas* + *ghan* - *śrotra* + *ghan* = *śrotriyah*, there will be a *ṇ* (*tadadhīte tadveda* 4-2-59) optional - *chāndasaḥ*.



**Sākṣī:** One who witnesses the transaction / incident is called *sākṣī* - a *nipāta* by *sākṣāddraṣṭari samjñāyām* 5-2-91. There will be three people - one who gives, one who receives and the one who witnesses. The third person is called *sākṣī* and he is naturally not involved in the transaction - *sākṣāt* is an *avyaya*, upon that *ini* is the *pratyaya* (*avyayānām bhamātre ṭilopaḥ*). *Patañjali* (23) clarifies that *samjñāyām* is needed because all the three persons naturally witness the event and without that term (in case *sākṣāt draṣṭari* is the *Sūtra*) all the three would become *sākṣīs*.

**Kṣetriyaḥ:** This is a *nipāta* (often seen in *Atharvaveda*) - *kṣetriyac parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ* 5-2-92. This is on a *par* with *srotriyaṃschando'dhite* (5-2-84) says *Kātyāyana* (24), i.e. in the sense of a sentence - this disease has to be treated in a different body (i.e. incurable) the word *kṣetriyaḥ* is prescribed. *Kṣetra* means body. The *cakāra* at the end is for *antodāttasvara*. *Kātyāyana* also comments that it can be *paralopa* (disappearance of the word *para*) and *ghac-pratyaya* in the sense to be treated there - *parakṣetra* - *kṣetra* + *ghac* - *kṣetriyaḥ*.

**Matup:** In the senses - that is there to this and in this, *matup-pratyaya* is instituted by *Pāṇini* - *tadasyāstyasminniti matup* 5-2-94. Here *asti* in the *Sūtra* is important, i.e. *Pāṇini* wants to convey that the thing should be possessed by one (place, person etc.) presently and the *pratyaya* cannot be applied in past and future tenses. A person has got cows at present is called *gomān*. Similarly a place/country where there are cows at present is called *gomān*. If the person or place had cows earlier or will be having the same in future cannot be referred to as *gomān* - *gāvaḥ santyasya asminvā gomān devadattaḥ deśovā gāvo'sya āsan, gāvo'sya bhavitāraḥ iti vākyameva*. *Patañjali* (25) had a beautiful discussion (*Hari* (26) summarised the same) in this context - why *asti*? in order to convey existence, this is not the purpose, existence is concomitant with every thing, then this is the purpose - in present existence only *pratyaya* will take place, in past & future existence no *pratyaya*, cows were there to him, cows will be there to him. The present existence is called *sampratisattā* or *bāhyasattā*.

The *Vārtika* of *Kātyāyana* that *asti* a verb conveying existence has to be added to a sentence without a verb (*astirbhavantīparaḥ aprayujyamāno pyasti*) has to be read in this context.

In usages like *gāvo'sya santyanantarāḥ, gāvo'sya santi samīpe* there won't be the *pratyaya* as the word *gāvaḥ* has got the *apekṣā* with *anantarāḥ* and *samīpa* and thus it became *asamartha* (*sāpekṣamasamartham bhavati* 2-1-1).

A *matubanta* cannot have another *matup* - one who has got cows is *gomān*. A country which has got many a *gomān* (*gomamtaḥ santi asmin deśe*) - in such a situation, *Patañjali* (27) clarifies, there cannot be another *matup* as the sense is already expressed, i.e. a *deśa* which has got many a *gomān* has also got many a cow, therefore *gomān deśaḥ* itself will do.

*Kātyāyana* offered an amendment to this *Sūtra* saying that simple ownership of something should not entitle one to receive the *pratyaya* as there will be *ativyāpti* in cases like *vṛṇirasya* (this person has got paddy) *yavo'sya* (this person has got yavas).

He (28) rather enumerated the specific senses in which *pratyayas* starting with *matup* are to be applied -

1. *bhūmni* (in abundance) - *gomān, yavamān*
2. *nindāyām* (in cursing) - *kakudāvartī, samkhādakī*
3. *praśamsāyām* (in praising) - *rūpavān, varṇavān*
4. *nityayoga* (eternal association) - *kṣīriṇo vṛkṣāḥ, kantakino vṛkṣāḥ*
5. *atiśāyane* (having too much) - *udarīṇī kanyā*
6. *samsarga* (in having) - *daṇḍī, chatrī*

*Kātyāyana* (29) himself says (*uktam vā*) that the above *Vārtika* is not required as it is already implied by *Pāṇinisūtra*. Comments *Patañjali* (30) that when the word *iti* is used in the *Sūtra* (like *tadasya tadasmin syāditi* 5-1-16) it suggests that if there is *vivakṣā* (if such a word denotes such a meaning in the common parlance), therefore if there is *vivakṣā* of *bhūma* etc. then only the *pratyaya* would come.

Rather in another Vārtika (sanmātre carṣidarśanāt), Kātyāyana says that in simple existence there is usage of matup in Veda - yavamatiḥhiradbhiḥ yūpam prokṣati. Further the matup would disappear on words denoting guṇa (quality etc.) says Kātyāyana - a thing which is white is - śuklaḥ (vāsaḥ-cloth), a sari - śuklā (śāṭī), a cloth - śuklam (vastram), similarly kṛṣṇaḥ, nīlaḥ, other numbers also - śuklau, suklāḥ. The last Vārtika, tathā ca līṅgavacanasiddhiḥ, is about līṅga and vacana. This is the origin of the statement of Amarasiṃha in Amarakośa - guṇe śuklādayaḥ pumsī guṇilingāstu tadvaṭi.

**Ālu & elu:** Kātyāyana (31) under bahulam chandasi 5-2-122 offers Vārtikas in the sense - one cannot endure - one who cannot endure cold is called - śītāluḥ, uṣṇa (heat) uṣṇāluḥ, trupra (puroḍāśa; misery - according to Mādhava) - truprāluḥ - ālu is the pratyaya - hima + elu - himeluḥ, bala + ūla - balūlaḥ, but on vātaśabda in both the senses - one cannot endure and a mass of wind (gale) - there will be ūla-pratyaya - vātūlaḥ.

**Vāgmī-vācālaḥ / vācāṭaḥ:** Vāco gminiḥ, ālajāṭajau bahubhāṣiṇi (5-2-124, 125) are the Sūtras. Patañjali (32) (rather than Kātyāyana as is stated in Kaumudī) clarifies that one who speaks too much but good and useful is called vāgmī and one who speaks too much that is wind is called vācālaḥ / vācāṭaḥ. Since Pāṇini made two Sūtras instead of one, the style (technically called sāmārthya) implies that bahubhāṣiṇi is applicable to earlier Sūtra also and as a result one need not amend the latter Sūtra by kutsita iti vaktavyam (in the sense of speaking too much but useless).

**Prāgdiśo vibhaktiḥ (5-3-1):** The Taddhita-pratyayas under this Adhikāra are given an additional samjñā-vibhakti. There are three benefits for this samjñā - the itsamjñā is arrested thru na vibhaktau tasmāḥ (1-3-4), atva thru tyadādīnāmaḥ (7-2-102) and udāttasvara (to idam thru sāvekācastṛtyādirvibhaktiḥ (6-1-168).

And since no specific sense is mentioned by Pāṇini, these pratyayas are called Svārthikas, i.e. the pratyayas express the meaning of prakṛti

only. Therefore, both the terms, samarthānām and prathamāt won't apply to these pratyayas. Vā would continue.

**Adhunā (5-3-17):** In the sense asmin kāle (now/at present) idam-śabda (saptamyanta) would get adhunā-pratyaya - idam + adhunā (idama iś 5-3-3) i + adhunā (yasyeti ca 6-4-148) - adhunā. Bhāṣyakāra (33) explains that it can be either a - ādesa to idam and dhunā is the pratyaya or lopa to idam and adhunā is the pratyaya. When vatup is applied on idam (kimidambhyām vo ghaḥ 5-2-40) then also the same would be the situation - idam + vatup, idam - iyat (idamkimoriṣkī 6-3-90) ī + iyat (yasyeti ca 6-4-148) iyat (num etc.) iyaṇ.

**Atiśāyane tamabīṣṭhanau (5-3-55):** In the sense qualitatively the best or in expressing superlative degree, tamap and īṣṭhan are instituted on Subantas. Since there cannot be any degree of comparison in terms of Dravya, and Jāti, Patañjali (34) concluded, after a prolonged discussion, that these pratyayas denote degree of Guṇa and therefore on Prātipadikas (i.e. Subantas) denoting Guṇa only the pratyayas are to be added. Nāgeśa (35) under ākaḍārādekā samjñā says that the Śabdās other than jāti - samjñā - avyaya - kṛdanta - taddhitānta - samasta - sarvanāma - samkhyā - śabdās are to be taken as guṇavacana.

Hari in Guṇasamuddeśa of Padakāṇḍa defined guṇa in order to avoid confusion between the guṇas enumerated by Naiyāyikas and popular in common parlance vis-a-vis the guṇa intended in certain Pāṇinīyasūtras - having connected with the resort, able to separate the resort from other things, due to its resorting to other things identified as paratantra (guṇānām ca parārthatvāt - Jaimini) - such a padārtha is called guṇa in Vyākaraṇa (36). Śukla (white), kṛṣṇa (black) can be seen with the resort, ghaṭa, paṭa etc. only, they cannot be perceived separately. They separate their resort from other things - a white vessel is differing from a black vessel due to its guṇa (colour). There is ghaṭatva in a ghaṭa and it is referred to as guṇa (as well as jāti) by Vaiyākaraṇas (see Vārtika, yasya guṇasya bhāvāt dravye śabdaniveśaḥ, under tasyabhāvastvatalau 5-1-119). And Naiyāyikas take it as jāti and not as guṇa. Under samarthāḥ padavidhiḥ (2-1-1)



Patañjali also says *viratvam guṇaḥ, puruṣatvam guṇaḥ*. Rather the *guṇa* that is acceptable to Naiyāyikas and popular in common parlance has to be taken in certain Sūtras and Vārtikas - *voto guṇavacanāt* 4-1-44, *saṃkhyāyāḥ guṇasya nimāne mayat* 5-2-47, *trītiyā tatkr̥tārthena guṇavacanena* 2-1-30, *prakāre guṇavacanasya* 8-1-12, *pūranaguṇasuhitārthasadvayayatavyasamānādhikaraṇena* 2-2-11, *iṣadguṇavacanena* 2-2-7, *ajādī guṇavacanādeva* 5-3-58 and *guṇavacanabhyo matupo luk*, vārtika under 5-2-94.

Hari (37) asserts that, keeping aside *jāti*, *guṇa*, *kriyā* etc. *upādhis*, it is not possible to exhibit pure *dravya*. Therefore the *guṇa* which is used as a dividing factor is also taken up for measuring degrees of comparison. In *Brahmakāṇḍa* (38) (also) he says that although the *guṇa* (*śukla* etc.) is referred to (*śuklataram rūpam* etc.) it indirectly refers to the *dravya* with which it is associated - i.e. the pure *dravya* cannot be expressed by a *Śabda*.

Ex: *ādhyā - ādhyatamaḥ, laghu-laghiṣṭhaḥ*

**Tiṇaśca (5-3-56):** *Tamap-pratyaya* is added on *tiṇanta* in the sense of excellence - *pacatitamām* (*ām* by *kimettiṇavyayaghādāmva-dravyaprakāṣe* 5-4-11). *āyasun* does not apply here following the regulation - *ajādī guṇavacanādeva* 5-3-58.

Patañjali (39) under *aśadākṣāsitaṅgvalamkarmālampuruṣā-dhyuttarapadātkhaḥ* 5-4-7 says that *tamap* etc. are *nityapratyayas*.

Kātyāyana (40) observed that the *pratyaya* is seen in *svārtha* in *Veda* - *devo vaḥ savita prārpayatu śreṣṭhatamāya karmaṇe*. Here, in the word *śreṣṭhatamāya*, *iṣṭhaṇ* is the first *pratyaya* in the sense of excellence and another *pratyaya* in the same sense cannot be added.

**Dvivacanavibhajyopapade tarabīyasunau (5-3-57):** Both the *pratyayas* would be added to *Subantas* and only *tarap* on *Tiṇantas* in the sense of comparison between two - *laghu - laghutarah* (this one is smaller) / *laghīyān, pacati - pacatitarām* (this one cooks better).

In examples like *alpāctaram* 2-2-34 and *lopaśca balavattarah* (Kātyāyana under *hayavarat*) the *tarap* is *atyantasvārthika*. This is

deduced from the fact that instead of *pitau ghaḥ* or *tādī ghaḥ*, Pāṇini read it *taraptamapau ghaḥ* (1-1-22). His style insinuates the fact.

**Praśamsāyām rūpap (5-3-66):** This is also a *pratyaya* which is added to both *Subantas* and *Tiṇantas* in the sense of admiration - *praśastah paṭuḥ paṭurūpaḥ, praśastam pacati pacatirūpam*.

**Bahuc:** All the *pratyayas* are added as suffixes (*pratyayaḥ, paraśca* 3-1-1 & 2) but *bahuc* is the only *pratyaya* that is prefixed - *vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāttu* 5-3-68. *Bahuc* is instituted in the sense - *iṣadasamāptau* (just less) - *bahupaṭuḥ*. The *tu* in the Sūtra denotes that the *pratyaya* comes as a prefix only.

**Kutsite (5-3-74):** In the sense of wicked, *ka-pratyaya* is added (*prāgivaṭkaḥ* 5-3-70) - a wicked *aśva* is called *aśvakaḥ*. Raising an objection that when *kutsita* itself is the *prātipadika* then, since the sense wicked (*kutsita*) is already expressed, there cannot be the *pratyaya* - how come *kutsitakaḥ, anukampitakaḥ* etc., Patañjali (41) asserts that each *Śabda* expresses five meanings - *jāti, dravya, liṅga, vacana* and *vibhakti*. This is what is referred to by later *Vaiyākaraṇas* as *pañcakam prātipadikārthaḥ*.

**Datarac / Datamac:** Both these *pratyayas* are instituted on *kim, yat* and *tat* while separating one from two and many respectively - *anayoḥ kataro devadattaḥ?* (who is Devadatta between these two?), *bhavatām katamo devadattaḥ?* (who is Devadatta among you people?)

Both Kātyāyana (42) and Patañjali opine that the *upādhis* (conditions) are not very much useful - *dvayoḥ* is not needed as *datarac* is used when one is separated from many and *katamaśabda* is seen in *ajātipariprasna*. Under *pratyayaḥ* (3-1-1) Patañjali's usage - *bahuṣvāsīneṣu kaścit kamcit prcchati kataro devadattaḥ* (where many people are sitting, one is enquiring another - who is Devadatta?) and his another usage - *katamā esām ādhyatamā* (who among these ladies is wealthiest?) under *prakāre guṇavacanasya* (8-1-12) following Kātyāyana's Vārtika (43).

**Avakṣepaṇe kan (5-3-95):** *Ka-pratyaya* was instituted thru *kutsite* (5-3-74). There will be difference in *svara* between *kan* and *ka*. Rather,

avakṣepaṇa and kutsana are synonyms. Patañjali under the above Sūtra clarifies that where a thing is considered to be wicked due to the reasons within (svakutsārtham upādīyate) that is an example for ka-pratyaya - devadattakaḥ. Devadatta due to his bad conduct etc. is considered to be wicked and therefore is called devadattakaḥ. Whereas in the present context a thing, that is taken up for projecting some other thing as wicked, is the example - vyākaraṇakaḥ devadattakaḥ. Here in this example Vyākaraṇa is good (not bad by itself). Rather Devadatta became proud due to the study of Vyākaraṇa.

**Jīvikārthe cāpaṇye (5-3-99):** Images, which are not for sale, but are used by Devalakas to carry on head and move from house to house to earn the livelihood. In this sense the kaṇ instituted by ive pratikṛtau (5-3-96) will get lup - vāsudeva + ka - vāsudevaḥ, śiva + ka - śivaḥ. Lup is for having the liṅga and vacana of the prakṛti (lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane 1-2-51).

**Samāsācca tadviṣayāt (5-3-106):** A very terse Sūtra. Kākatāliyaḥ (coreṇa caitrasya vadhaḥ) - is the example. There are two ivārthas (meanings of comparison) here - like the flying of crow and like the fall of the palm - fruit (when something happened incidentally - the thief had accidentally seen Caitra and killed - this is compared with another incident - a crow came flying under a palm-tree and just then a palm-fruit fell upon and killed it). Ajākrpāṇīyam is another example. A goat has come under the tree while the sword has just slipped from the hands of the wood-cutter and killed the goat. Any such coincidence is compared with this (explained thru this usage).

Hari earmarked nine verses to explain the meaning of this Sūtra. First Patañjali's Bhāṣyam (44) - what is referred to by (the pronoun) tat ? (i.e. ivārtha is the context and cha-pratyaya as well, following sarvanāmnām pradhānaparāmarśitvāt both are equally pradhāna and hence the doubt), cha-pratyaya, how come Samāsa becomes subject of cha? then it is ivārtha, if Samāsa is in ivārtha and pratyaya as well, since the sense is already expressed by Samāsa the pratyaya won't come (i.e. following uktārthānāmaprayogaḥ - nothing to be used to express the already-expressed-meaning), then there are two

ivārthas, how? kākāgamanamiva tālapatanamiva kākatālam, kākatālamiva kākatāliyam (i.e. the Samāsa which is subject to ivārtha is the prakṛti and it would get cha-pratyaya in ivārtha)

Here is Hari (45) - since cha-pratyaya is (for the first time) being instituted it is not appropriate to say that the pratyaya would come on a Samāsa that is the subject (viṣaya means which is not seen elsewhere, i.e. the Samāsa connected forever with cha - vi + ṣiñ (bandhane) + ac - viṣayaḥ) of cha. In examples like kākatāliyam it is well-known that it is the present Sūtra that effects the Samāsa (i.e. since there is no any vidhisūtra which can effect Samāsa thru imposing sāmārthya in such a situation, the present Sūtra itself or pratyayavidhāna itself is a jñāpaka (sign) in deducing that such a Samāsa is possible, jñāpaka is preferred to supsupā. If it is argued that chaviṣaya means a Samāsa which is going to become the subject of cha in future would get cha-pratyaya - then it would be rendered unmeaningful.

Hari further clarifies that the condition if the Samāsa is the subject of cha is not feasible as it is not decided as to whether it is rājāśva etc. or another Samāsa that will be the subject of cha. Therefore before the cha-pratyaya is instituted, cha-pratyayaviṣaya cannot be there. The result is that although it is pradhāna (important as it is being instituted) cha-pratyaya cannot be the candidate that is being referred to by the pronoun tat in tadviṣayāt, rather although unimportant the ivārtha is the candidate.

Thus, explains Hari (46), it is suggested that both the ivārthas are the cause of the meaning of Samāsa and pratyaya - one ivārtha is connected with a word that is part of the Samāsa whereas the other is connected with cha-pratyaya.

In contrast, in examples like śastrī śyāmā (the girl is like a knife) the knife has already had the quality of śyāmatva (medium complexion) and a lady, Devadattā is being compared with a knife which is of medium complexion. Here since nothing-else is being compared with the upameya, Devadattā, there is only one ivārtha.

**Ivārtha in Samāsa:** There are two upameyas and two upamānas - Caitra's coming is like the coming of the crow, the thief's pouncing on Caitra is like the falling of palm-fruit on the crow. The samāna-dharma common property) is coincidence.



*Ivārtha by pratyaya:* The different kriya (activity) like vadha (killing) etc. which is happening due to the collision of crow and palm-fruit, becomes upamāna and in the sense of upameya vis-a-vis the said upamāna the chapratyaya is being instituted. Therefore the upamānopameyabhāva that is there between both the activities is the meaning of chapratyaya (47).

Having explained both the ivārthas Hari addresses the question of sāmārthya - the coming of crow is the upamāna of the coming of Caitra and therefore kākāgamana is apradhāna (unimportant). The falling of palm-fruit is the upamāna of the coming of the thief. And there is no relation between kākāśabda and tālaśabda which are pradhāna and apradhāna, respectively. As such both these Śabdas are asamartha. Then how come the Samāsa takes place. Further when it is said that the chapratyayavidhi is the sign (jñāpaka) of Samāsa then also it is indicated in Bhāṣya that supsupā is the vidhisūtra of Samāsa. Therefore, it is difficult to have a Samāsa out of two asamarthaśabdas. On the other hand, although the Samāsa is achieved somehow or the other, how two words which do not construe with each other express a unitary meaning? Then which is the prakṛtyartha that would be a viśeṣaṇa (qualifier) of pratyayārtha (viśeṣya)? - responds Hari (48) - dravyaśabda exists in the activity with which it is connected, in the present example the dravyaśabdas, i.e. kākā and tāla are there connected with pāta (falling) and āgamana (coming). Dravya is siddha and kriyā is sādhyā. In examples like dadhyodanaḥ both are dravyas and hence there cannot be any connection between them. At the same time Samāsa cannot be effected between asamarthaśabdas (samarthaḥ padaividhiḥ 2-1-1). Therefore, in order to make a Samāsa possible a kriya like upaseka (soaking) is taken - the odanam (rice) that is soaked in dadhi (curd) is dadhyodana. Same is the case with kākā and tāla which denote āgamana and patana. Kākāgamana and tālapatana both are coincidental and are upamāna to each other. Thus both the Śabdas are construed due to parasparopamānopameyabhāva and pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇatva is possible. Further, the comparison between both the above kriyas on the one side, the coming of Caitra and pouncing of the thief on the other becomes possible. Such a meaning

is expressed by Samāsa. Caitra-vadha is upameya of kākavadha and the same is expressed by chapratyaya.

Why to resort to the secondary meaning (gauṇārtha) in case of kākā and tāla? Why not directly compare coincidental corakṛta-caitravadha with tālakṛtakākavadha? - Hari (49) clarifies that the sentence that expresses the meaning of Vṛtti is being created and the one that is popularly used is not similar to this. The purport is that kākātālīyam and ajākṛpāñīyam are the words that are used in common parlance. The author of Vyākaraṇa ought to analyse these Śabdas. The words in prakriyāvākya or laukikavigrahavākya are construed thru anvākhyāna (analysis). Therefore, such a Vākya is created in accordance with anvākhyāna. The result is that Vṛtti is being advocated on samāsa-prakṛti when the combination of the two coincidences, i.e. that of kākā-tāla and Caitra-cora is ivārtha. Upamāna is kākātālasambandhaviśiṣṭa and upameya is vadha etc. Chapratyaya denotes upameya only. The prakṛti, kākātāla is chapratyayaviṣaya (tadviṣaya) eternally and therefore without chapratyaya the prakṛti would be rendered unfit for usage.

In the above verse (613) it is said that Vṛtti (50) is being advocated but in what sense? - kākā by tāla and Devadatta by cora are killed in a fashion that is surprising and in another upameya, which is similar to that, the chapratyaya is instituted, i.e. the activities should be similar - coincidental.

**Vigrahapūrvikā taddhitotpattiḥ:** Says Patañjali (51) under aṣaḍak-

ṣasitaṅgvalamkarmālampuruṣādhyuttarapadātkhaḥ (5-4-7). Every taddhitapratyaya has to be applied after exhibiting the vigraha. At the same time Patañjali clarifies that a nityapratyayānta does not have a vigraha. The observation is that Pāṇini leaves it to the commentators to decide as to which one is nityapratyaya in spite of the fact that in certain cases he clearly mentions - termum nityam (4-4-20). Bhāṣyakāra enumerates the nityapratyayas among Taddhitas. Tamādayaḥ prākkanah - is a general statement - comments Nāgeśa. Patañjali also says that there is Bahuvrīhi with asvapadavigraha - śobhanam mukham asyāḥ sumukhī iti. Dikṣita

in Kaumudi declares that - avigraho'svapadavigraho vā nityasamāsaḥ.

Kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartari cviḥ (5-4-50): When something transforms into something else and if followed by kṛ/bhū/asti then cvi-pratyaya is applied. Kātyāyana amended by abhūtatadbhāve and the same is thrown into the Sūtra by somebody - says Kaiyaṭa. Therefore the Kāśikā version is not authoritative.

Earlier he was not Kṛṣṇa but thru costumes etc. he is made (to look like) Kṛṣṇa, so kṛṣṇīkaroti, Grāmīkarotyājñayā in Swapna-vāsavadatta. Asya cvau (7-4-32) effects i in place of a.

Vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye (5-4-52): The entire missile becomes fire - in this sense (in the sense of cvi only) sāti is being instituted - agnisādbhavati / agnībhavati (cvi) / kṛtsnam śāstram agniḥ sampadyate (vākyam due to Mahāvibhāṣā).

Satyādaśapathe (5-4-66): When the salesman says / advertises that the thing(s) can be purchased for such and such a price and not more than that then it is remarked - satyākaroti. If somebody vows then the pratyaya - ḍāc would not come.

Samāsāntāḥ (5-4-68): Samāsāntapratyayas (there are some ādeśas also) are given the name Taddhita - nastaddhite (6-4-144, ṭilopa), gorataddhitaluki (5-4-92, ṭacniṣedha), laśakvataddhite (1-3-8, itsamjñāniṣedha in kap etc.) etc. are the purposes.

Here the word anta means the last part and it is clearly stated in Mahābhāṣya (52) under goṣṭriyopasarjanasya (1-2-48) and antaḥ (8-4-20). And the Mahābhāṣya under 1-2-48, i.e. tādarthyaṭ tēcchabdyam, clearly indicates that the term Samāsa in samāsāntāḥ refers to (alaukika) vighrahavākya (thru lakṣaṇā). Nāgeśa (53) under the same Sūtra dwells at the cryptic meaning that is there in the words of Bhāṣyakāra and Kaiyaṭa. The conclusion is that simultaneously the Samāsāntapratyaya as well as the Samāsasamjñā are to be applied at the stage of alaukikavighrahavākya itself.

Exceptions: The Samāsāntas cannot be applied under certain conditions -

Na pūjanāt (5-4-69): If the Prātipadika is preceded by a Śabda that denotes respect there cannot be a Samāsānta - surājā, atirājā (ṭac does not apply - rājāhassakhibhyaḥ ṭac 5-4-91). This applies to su and ati only (svatibhyāmeva - Vārtikam 3346) - paramarājāḥ, and before bahuvrīhau sakthyakṣṇoḥ svāṅgātṣac 5-4-113) - susakthaḥ, svakṣaḥ.

Kimāḥ kṣepe (5-4-70): In the sense of cursing, a Prātipadika on kim does not receive samāsānta - kimrājā, kimsakhā (no ṭac).

Nañstatpuruṣāt (5-4-71): On Nañtatpuruṣa no Samāsānta - arājā, asakhā.

Patho vibhāṣā (5-4-72): On the word panthāḥ in Nañtatpuruṣa it is optional (a - pratyaya by ṛkpūrabdhūḥ pathāmānakṣe 5-4-74) - apatham - apanthāḥ.

There are eleven pratyayas:

1. Bahuvrīhau samkhyeye ḍajabahugaṇāt (5-4-73): If the Bahuvrīhi denotes a thing that refers to a number, on that ḍac applies - upadaśāḥ (around ten - i.e. nine or eleven).
2. Ṛkpūrabdhūḥpathāmānakṣe (5-4-74): A + ānakṣe. A - pratyaya on Samāsa ending in ṛk etc. except dhū in the sense of load of an axle - ardharcaḥ, viṣṇupuram, vimalāpam, rājadhurā, Ramyapathaḥ (deśaḥ).
3. Acpratyannavapūrvāt sāmāloṃnaḥ (5-4-75): Samāsas like pratisāma, anuloma etc. would get ac - pratyaya - pratisāmam, pratilomam, anulomam.

Further brahmavarcaśam (brahmahastibhyām varcaśaḥ (5-4-78), śvaḥśreyasam (śvaso vaśīyaḥ śreyasaḥ (5-4-80), dvistāvā, tristāvā (dvistāva tristāvā vediḥ 5-4-84) etc. are also covered under ac.

4. Rājāhassakhibhyaḥ ṭac (5-4-91): The Tatpuruṣa ending in these words would get ṭac - paramarājam, uttamāhaḥ, kṛṣṇasakhaḥ,



*upaśaradam* (avyayībhāve śaratprabhṛtibhyaḥ (5-4-107), *uparājam*, *adhyātman* (anaśca 5-4-108) etc. are also covered.

5. *Bahuvrīhau sakthyakṣṇoḥ svāṅgāt śac* (5-4-113): Where the words *sakthi* and *akṣi* denote the limb of a body, the *Bahuvrīhi* ending in these words would get *śac*. The difference between *ac* and *śac* is that the latter effects *anantodātta*. *Dīrghasakthaḥ*, *jalaajākṣī* are examples. *Niṣ* is the purpose for *śakāra* (śidgaurādibhyaśca 4-1-41).

6. *Dvitribhyām śa mūrdhnaḥ* (5-4-115): In *Bahuvrīhi*, *mūrdhā* preceded by *dvi* and *tri* would get *śa* - *dvimūrdhaḥ*, *trimūrdhaḥ*. If *śac* itself is applied here also then *antodāttatva* (by *citaḥ* 6-1-157) by *cittva* would affect totally the *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara* (by *dvitribhyām pāddanmūrdhasu bahuvrīhau* 6-2-196), which is optional when *Samāsānta* is not applied - *dvimūrdhā*. Rather in case of *śa*, since *Samāsāntāḥ* (5-4-68) is *anitya* (not compulsory - contrast with *Patañjali* under *aśadakṣa* 5-4-7, *Samāsāntas* are *nityapratyayas*) when the *Samāsānta* is applied then also there will be two *svaras* (54) - *antodāttatva* and *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara* (ādyudāttatva). *Nāgeśa* (55) asserts that the *śa*-*pratyaya* (apart from *śac*) is the sign (*jñāpaka*) in ruling that *Samāsāntavidhi* is *anitya* (not compulsory).

7. *Appūraṇīpramāṇyoḥ* (5-4-116): A *Śabda* in feminine gender ending in *pūraṇapratyaya* and the one ending with *pramāṇī* would get *ap* in *Bahuvrīhi* - *kalyāṇīpañcamāḥ* (rātrayaḥ), *stripramāṇaḥ*.

8. *Nityamasic prajāmedhayoḥ* (5-4-122): *Asic* would come (in *Bahuvrīhi*) on *prajā* and *medhā* - preceded by *nañ*, *duḥ* and *su* - *aprajāḥ* / *amedhāḥ*, *suprajāḥ* / *sumedhāḥ*.

9. *Dharmādanīc kevalāt* (5-4-124): In *Bahuvrīhi* *dharmasabāda*, if preceded by only one *pūrvapada*, would get *anic* - *kalyāṇadharmā*.

10. *Ic karmavyatihāre* (5-4-127): A *Bahuvrīhi* which denotes a duel would get *ic* - *keśākeśi*, *muṣṭāmuṣṭi*, *musalāmusali*.

11. *Uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap* (5-4-151): *Bahuvrīhi*, ending in *uras*, *sarpīḥ*, *pumān* etc. (singular number only) would get *kap* - *vyūḍhoraskaḥ*, *priyasarpīṣkaḥ* etc. In *divivacana* and *bahuvacana* optional *kap* by *śeṣādvibhāṣā* (5-4-154) - *dvipumān* / *dvipumskaḥ* etc. *Arthānnañāḥ* (Gaṇasūtram 149) - *anarthakam*, otherwise *apārtham* / *apārthakam*.

There are certain nipātas and ādeśas among Samāsāntas :-

*Acatura*, *naktamdiva*, *niśśreyasa*, *vṛddhokṣa* (5-4-77), *bahuprajāḥ* (5-4-123), *suhṛt*, *durhṛt* (5-4-150), *niṣpravāṇīḥ* (5-4-160) etc. are *nipātas* with or without *Samāsānta*.

*Sarvāhṇaḥ* (*ahan* replaced by *ahṇa* 5-4-88), *yuvajāṇīḥ* (*jāyāyā* *nin* 5-4-134), *sudan* / *sudatī* (*vayasi dantasya datṛ* 5-4-141) etc. are *ādeśas* included in *Samāsāntas*.

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## SANĀDYANTADHĀTUVṚTTIḤ

*San etc. are twelve pratyayas called sanādi . Sanādyantas are given the name dhātu by sanādyantā dhātavaḥ (3-1-32) so that kṛts as well as tiṅs can be added for required Śabdas. Since sanādipratyayas are not read under the Adhikāra- dhātoḥ (3-1-91) they cannot be called kṛts. And for the same reason they do not get the samjñā - ārdhadhātuka by ārdhadhātukam śeṣaḥ (3-4-114) and as a result iḍāgama by ārdhadhātukasyeḍvalādeḥ (7-2-35) and guṇa by sārva dhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ (7-3-84) won't apply.*

*Ekārthibhāva: Patañjali (1) discussed this aspect under dhātoḥ samānakartṛkādicchāyām vā (3-1-7) and supa ātmanaḥ kyac (3-1-8)- kyac-pratyaya does not come in cases like - mahāntam putram icchati (putram icchati-putriyati is the example) due to asāmarthya and asāmarthya is due to sāpekṣatva, i.e. the word putram, which is involved, is tied with a viśeṣaṇa (qualifier) - mahāntam and hence became sāpekṣa. Following Kātyāyana (2), Patañjali (3) remarks that the term vā in 3-1-7 is not required / useful as san is a nityapratyaya.*

*Here (in Sanādyantadhātuprakriyā) there are two sides - Vṛttipakṣa and Avṛttipakṣa. It is natural that both Vākya and pratyaya would be there (in common parlance). In such a situation when there is the nityapratyaya (no Vākya) then whatelse than samjñā can be targeted? And optionality to pratyayasamjñā is not desirable. Therefore vā is not useful. Under supa ātmanaḥ kyac (3-1-8) Patañjali (4) discusses the strange situation wherein one has to conclude that sāpekṣatve na vṛttiḥ but make an exception that sāpekṣatve'pi gamakatve vṛttiḥ (i.e. repetition of what was said under samarthah padavidhiḥ, 2-1-1, no Samāsa in the case of mahat kaṣṭam śritah, but it is there in the case of devadattasya gurukulam) - Sanādyantadhātuvṛtti does not apply (here it is kyac) in the case of mahāntam putram icchati due to sāpekṣatva but even if it is sāpekṣa, kyac will come on muṇḍayati māṇavakam due to gamakatva (here it is ṇic by muṇḍamiśra , 3-1-20). Therefore, it is clear that the adhikāra - samarthah padavidhiḥ (2-1-1) applies in this Vṛtti as well.*



The peculiarity of *Sanādi* is that some of these *pratyayas* apply on *dhātus* whereas others on *prātipadikas* but both of them ultimately become *dhātus* and thus become eligible to receive both *kṛts* and *tiṅs*. While *tiṅantas* are used directly, the *kṛdantas*, following *kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca* (1-2-46) get *sups* and end up as *subantas*.

**Gup-tij-kidbhyaḥ san (3-1-5):** *Gup-tij-kit* - these *dhātus* get *san-pratyaya*. In what sense? As per the *paribhāṣā* - *anirdiṣṭārthāḥ pratyayāḥ svārthe bhavanti* - it should be *svārtha*, i.e. *prakṛtyartha* (or as remarked by *Kaiyaṭa* and *Nāgeśa* under *Pratyayaḥ*, 3-1-1, *svārtha* is a *kalpanā* and it means meaninglessness / *artharāhitya*). It seems there is deep controversy in this aspect - *Patañjali* under - *supi sthaḥ*, 3-2-4, *tumarthe sesen* ..., 3-4-9, *kartari kṛt*, 3-4-67 etc. quotes the above *paribhāṣā* and mentions - *gup-tij-kidbhyaḥ san* and *yāvādibhyaḥ kan* (5-4-29) as examples.

*Kāśikāvṛtti* quotes a *Vārtika* (it is not there in *Mahābhāṣya*) - *nindākṣamāvyādhipratikāreṣu sanīṣyate*, which means *san* would come in blaming, patience and remedy for a disease respectively. *Jinendrabuddhi* (5) goes one step further and remarks that a *sannantagup-dhātu*, i.e. *jugupsate*, does not denote the meaning of *gup* (hiding) and following *anvaya* and *vyatireka*, i.e. when there is *san* then the meaning (blaming) is expressed and not in its absence, it is decided that this is the meaning of *san*.

*Bhāṭṭojidīkṣita* mentioned the *Vārtika* in three pieces. *Nāgeśa* in *Udyota* held that in light of the usages it may be explained that *san* would come on *dhātus* having specific meaning.

*Pāṇini* used *sannantakit-dhātu* in *kṣettriyaḥ parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ* (5-2-92). *Vicikitsā tu samśayaḥ* is *Amarakośa*. *Gup gopane* and *kita niketane* - are usages.

It seems that *Pāṇini* at times does not go into the semantic part - *asti nāsti diṣṭam matiḥ* (4-4-60). *Āstika* and *nāstika* are popular in the sense of believer in another world and non-believer in another world respectively. *Jugupsā*, *cikitsā* etc. are popular in some sense and it is needless to mention the sense in such cases.

*Namovarivaścitraṇaḥ kyac*, (3-1-19) is another *sanādi* where *Pāṇini* does not mention the meaning and *Patañjali* says that *Ācārya* surprises - at some places he mentions the meanings and at some other places he does not. *Samāsāntas* can also be an example. Under 3-1-21, (*dhātorekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yañ*) *Kātyāyana* remarks - *kriyāviśeṣe svārthe yañ*, i.e. *yañ-pratyaya* is instituted in a specific meaning which is *svārtha*. This remark insinuates that *Kātyāyana* (and *Patañjali*) considers even the specific meaning *kriyāsamabhihāra* as the meaning of *dhātu* (*prakṛti*) itself and therefore it is *svārtha*.

Apparently, *Nāgeśa* (6) is trying to defend *Patañjali*. *Haradatta* of *Padamañjarī* seems to have given the clue to *Nāgeśa*.

But in examples like *jugupsīṣate* and *mīmāṃsiṣate*, where there are two *sannantas* one has to accept that the first *san* is in *svārtha* as otherwise it goes against the norm - *sannantānna sanīṣyate* (3-1-7 *Patañjali*), i.e. no *san* on *san* (in the same sense).

Since *dhātus* have got several meanings (*dhātūnām anekārthatvāt*) *Patañjali* must have thought that the popular meaning of the *dhātu* in relation to the *pratyaya* (*san-jugupsā*, *ñic-gopāyati*) will be taken and it may not be wise to mention the sense in cases like - *cikitsā* and *vicikitsā* by reason of brevity. It is in this context that one should recall the statement of *Patañjali* under *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* 2-1-1 (*nahyarthā ādiṣyante*) and this is *Śabdānuśāsanam* and not *Arthānuśāsanam*.

*Dvitva* by *sanyaṇoḥ* (6-1-9) and *ātmanepada* by *pūrvavatsanaḥ* (1-3-62) - *jugupsate*, *jugupsāmcakre*, *titikṣate*, *cikitsati*, *cikitsāmcakāra* - in the sense of *nivāsa* (dwelling) *ketayati* and *gup-tijmān-dhātus* are, according to *Patañjali*, *anudāttets* (*anudāttānita ātmanepadam*, 1-3-12).

Since *jugupsa* is a *dhātu akārapratyaya* by a *pratyayāt* (3-3-102) in *strīliṅga* is added - *jugupsā*.

**Mānbadhadānśānbhyo dīrghaścābhyāsasya (3-1-6):** Alongwith the three *dhātus* mentioned in the earlier *Sūtra*, all four *dhātus* get



sanpratyaya as nitya (tatra nityatvātsanaḥ - Mahābhāṣyam, 3-1-7), i.e. Ekārthībhāva is nitya and as a result there won't be a Vākya. The only difference between the first three and the last four is that the latter would get dīrgha to abhyāsavarṇa - mīmāṃsate, bībhatsate. Dāna and śāna are svaritets (svaritañītaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale, 1-3-72, ātmanepadam) - dīdāṃsate, śīśāṃsati / śīśāṃsate. Here dāna is in the sense of straightforwardness and śāna is in sharpening. In other sense - dānayati and śānayati.

**Dhātoḥ karmanāḥ samānakartṛkādicchāyām vā (3-1-7):** Sanpratyaya on dhātus so that ārdhadhātukatva and idāgama would follow.

A dhātu which has got iṣi as karma and having the same kartā as iṣi, would receive sanpratyaya optionally in icchā (desire). So there will be both Vṛtti and Vākya - caitraḥ paṭhitum icchati / pipāṭhiṣati. Here Caitra is kartā in both icchā and paṭhana and hence paṭh is samānakartṛka. If guru desires that pupils should study then there won't be san - śiṣyaḥ paṭhantu iti icchati guruḥ (Vākya only).

Kṛt is added - sanāsamsabhikṣa uḥ (3-2-168) - pipāṭhiṣuḥ, jigamiṣuḥ, cikīrṣuḥ etc. are subantas. Patañjali raises a question - what about having a san on sannanta - cikīrṣitum icchati, jīhīrṣitum icchati? -

śaiṣikānmatubarthīyāt śaiṣiko matubarthikāḥ  
sarūpaḥ pratyayo neṣṭaḥ sannantānna sanīṣyate

**śaiṣikāt śaiṣikāḥ:** - śālāyām bhavaḥ - śālīyaḥ-cha, śālīye bhavaḥ - Vākya only, there cannot be another cha. Sarūpapratyaya only is restricted, virūpapratyaya will come - ahiccatre bhavaḥ - aṇ - āhicchatraḥ, āhicchatre bhavaḥ - cha - āhicchatrīyaḥ

**Matvarthāt:** - dhanam asya asti - matup - dhanavān, dhanavān asya asti - no another matup, but there can be a virūpa - daṇḍaḥ asya asti - ini - daṇḍī, daṇḍinaḥ asyām santi daṇḍimatī śālā (matup).

Sarūpa means similiarity in meaning. Therefore there can be an icchāsan on svārthika san - jugupsīṣate, mīmāṃsīṣate.

Kātyāyana adds a Vārtika - āśamsāyām san vaktavyaḥ - śvā mumūrṣati (the dog wants to die), kūlam pipatīṣati (the bank wants to fall by itself).

**Supa ātmanāḥ kyac (3-1-8):** Karmanāḥ, icchāyām, vā - follow. If one wants for himself then kyac will come on subanta. Sup will disappear following supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ (2-4-71). Caitra wants a son for himself - caitraḥ putram ātmanāḥ icchati - putrīyati. If Caitra wants a son to the king then there won't be Vṛtti but Vākya only - caitraḥ, rājñāḥ putram icchati. Mahāputramicchati - mahāputrīyati, but mahāntam putram icchati - Vākya only as the meaning expressed by Vākya can never be expressed by Vṛtti if effected. The aspect is already explained earlier. The dhātus formed on subantas are called nāmadhātus. The ikāra is by kyaci ca (7-4-33). Kātyāyana imposes restriction on māntāvyayas - kyaci māntāvyayapratīṣedhaḥ - idam icchati, kim icchati, uccairicchati, nīcairicchati (māntaprakṛtikasubanta and avyaya are meant).

**Āśanāyodanyadhanāyā bubhuḥṣāpipāsāgardheṣu (7-4-34):** Three kya-jantas are nipātas - āśanāyati, udanyati, dhanāyati in the sense of - desire to eat, desire to drink and desire respectively.

**Kāmyacca (3-1-9):** In the sense of 3-1-8 kāmyac - putram ātmanāḥ icchati - putrakāmyati. A pratyayāt (3-3-102) - putrakāmyā.

**Upamānādācāre (3-1-10):** Ācāra is treatment, upon a subanta which is upamāna and karma - kyac will come - putramivācarati putrīyati chātram (the teacher treats the desciple on a par with his son). Adhikaraṇācceti vaktavyam (Vārtikam) - kuṭīyati prāsāde, prāsādīyati kuṭyām - a sannyāsi treats a palace as a hut and vice versa.

**Kartuḥ kyaṇ salopaśca (3-1-11):** A subanta, which is upamāna and kartā will optionally get kyaṇ in ācārārtha, and salopa also optionally. Kātyāyana adds two significant Vārtikas - śalopo vā, ojasopsarasornityam - kṛṣṇa ivācarati kṛṣṇāyate, ojāyate, apsarāyate, yaśāyate / yaśasyate. Kātyāyana amends - sarvaprātipadikebhyah



*ācāre kvibvā vaktavyaḥ*. Therefore *kvip* (this *kvip* is different from the one that is *kṛt*) can be added on any *prātipadika*. Kaiyaṭa explains the idea behind the assertion - *prātipadika* (and not *subanta*) - so that there will not be *padatva* and *ato guṇe* (6-1-97). *Kvip* is a *sarvalopipratyaya*, i.e. nothing remains to show that such a word is *kvibanta*. But here in *Sanādis* a *kvibanta* would become *dhātu* and there will be *tiñantas* (in *kṛdantas* also *kvip* would disappear and a *kṛdanta* would become *prātipadika* to receive *sup*s - *kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca*, 1-2-46) - he looks like *kṛṣṇa* - *kṛṣṇati*, *mālā* *iva ācarati mālāti*.

*Bhṛśādibhyo bhuvyacverlopaśca halaḥ* (3-1-12): *Bhṛśādis*, which are in *abhūtatadbhāva* will get *kyan* in the sense of *bhavati* and *halantas* will get *lopa* - *abhṛśaḥ bhṛśaḥ bhavati bhṛśāyate*.

*Lohitādiḍājbhyaḥ kyaṣ* (3-1-13): On *lohitādis* and *ḍājantas* *kyaṣ* will come in the sense of *bhavati*. Here *acveḥ* comes from earlier *Sūtra* and becomes a qualifier of *lohitādi* and not *ḍāj* as it does not exist. *Alohitāḥ lohitāḥ bhavati* (a non-reddish thing becomes reddish) - *lohitāyati* / *lohitāyate*. *Paṭapaṭāyati* / *paṭapaṭāyate* - *vā kyaṣaḥ* (1-3-90) - optionally *parasmaipada*.

*Kaṣṭāya kramaṇe* (3-1-14): *Kyan* on *kaṣṭāya* in the sense of interested - *kaṣṭāya kramate kaṣṭāyate*. It means that one is interested in committing sin (here *kaṣṭa* means sin).

*Sukhādibhyaḥ kartṛvedanāyām* (3-1-18): *Sukha* etc. which are *karmas* will get *kyan* if the person who feels only is the subject of *sukha* etc. - *sukham vedayate sukhāyate*.

*Namovarivaścitraṇaḥ kyac* (3-1-19): While *Kātyāyana* (7) insists that the meaning should be mentioned, *Patañjali* (8) remarks that *Ācārya* surprisingly mentions the meanings at some places and does not mention at some other places but for the sake of non-scholars the meaning should be mentioned. He concludes that since *karāṇe* from *śabdavairakalahābhṛkanvameghebhyaḥ* *karāṇe* (3-1-17) follows and as it means *karoti* which is *kriyāsāmānya* it need not be (insisted that the meaning should be) mentioned. Rather, *Patañjali* gives the

meanings for the *dhātus* in this *Sūtra* and the following one, i.e. *pucchabhāṇḍacivarāṇṇiṇ* (3-1-20) - *namasyati devān* (saluting), *varivasyati gurūn* (serving), *citriyate* (surprising), *utpucchayate*, *vipucchayate*, *paripucchayate*, the animal is shaking the tail (upwards, at random, around), *sambhāṇḍayate* (collecting), *samcivarayate* (earning or putting on).

*Namasyā*, *varivasyā* are nouns by a *pratyayāt* (3-3-102) - *pūjā namasyāpacitiḥ saparyārcārhaṇāssamāḥ*, *varivasyā tu śuśrūṣā paricaryāpyupāsana* - *Amarakośa*.

*Muṇḍamiśraślakṣṇalavaṇavratavastrahalakalakṛtatūstebhyo ṇic* (3-1-21): *Karāṇe* from 3-1-17 follows. *Muṇḍa* etc. will get *ṇic* *pratyaya* in the sense of *karoti*. As has already been explained under - *supa ātmanaḥ kyac* (3-1-8) there will be *Vṛtti* even in *sāpekṣatva* - *muṇḍam karoti māṇavakam muṇḍayati* (he is getting the boy, i.e. boy's head, clean-shaven). Kaiyaṭa remarks that while the *curādigāṇasūtra* - *prātipadikāddhātvarthe bahulam iṣṭhavacca* is there this *Sūtra* is an elaboration or it is for *Vṛtti* in *sāpekṣatva*.

There are ten categories of *dhātus* and *Curādi* is also a *gaṇa* (group). *Pāṇini* instituted *ṇic* on these *dhātus* in order to get *dhātutva* thru *sanādi*.

*Satyāpapāśarūpaviṇātūlaślokaśenāloamatvacavarmavarnacūrṇa-curādibhyo ṇic* (3-1-25): - *satyam karoti satyāpayati* (he is pledging that this is true), *corayati* / *corayate*. While all the twelve roots get *ṇic* in the sense of *tatkaroti tadācaṣṭe* (doing/saying), the *curādis* get it in *svārtha*.

*Hetumati ca* (3-1-26): Here the term *hetu* is technical (9), i.e. the one who/which employs/urges/makes it convenient. *Tatprayojako hetuśca* (1-4-55) is the definition. The *ṇic* by this *Sūtra* upon a *dhātu* expresses the activity or behaviour (*vyāpāra* or *pravartanā*). And *ṇic* is applicable only when *prayojya* (employer) and *prayojaka* (employee) are interacting and the function by the latter takes place. *Devadattaḥ yajñadattena pācayati* (*Devadatta* arranged cooking by *Yajñadatta* or *Devadatta* making cooking by *Yajñadatta*) - this is for *preṣaṇā*. When the *śiṣya* (disciple) requests the *guru* (teacher) - *pāṭhaya* (teach me), it is *adhyeṣaṇā*.

*Tatsamarthācaraṇa* (10) needs elaboration - in the above examples for *preṣaṇā* and *adhyeṣaṇā* there are two *kartas*, *prayojyakartā* (who employs/requests) and *prayojakakartā* (who acts). The activity of the former is *dhātvartha* and that of the latter is *ñijartha*. *Dhātvartha* is the qualifier of *ñijartha*, i.e. *dhātvartha* is unimportant and *ñijartha* is important. While things stand thus there are usages like - *bhikṣā vāsayate*, *kāriṣo'gniradhyāpayati*, where no living person is there to cause *preṣaṇā* and *adhyeṣaṇā* (both the activities can be performed by a living thing only). Alms (or support) are making the mendicant stay put - is the answer to the question - why is he staying in the village?

Similarly, the fire of drydung (dung is dried and used as firewood) is making him study - is the answer to the question - how is the student continuing the study in such a cold weather. *Kātyāyana* (11) raised an issue - here *hetu* should be taken as *nimitta* (cause), i.e. not the technical one by *tatprayojako hetuśca* (1-4-55) in order to cover examples like the above. *Patañjali* explicates the idea behind the statement - *Kātyāyana* thinks that *preṣaṇa* and *adhyeṣaṇa* are possible only to beings and *bhikṣā* is a non-being. Then he offers the solution - it won't be amiss, a person who offers - you can stay here - only need not be considered as providing for the stay; rather the person who keeps mum but arranges (*samarthācaraṇa*) for the stay is also to be considered as a provider. Even available alms (*bhikṣas*) which are abundant and coupled with mouthwatering sauces also facilitate the stay (of the student). Similarly, the fire of dry-dung well-lit at a windless and secluded place facilitates the study.

In fact, there are a number of *Vārtikas* offered by *Kātyāyana* for analysing and certifying certain examples but *Patañjali* (12) brushed aside all of them as *Pāṇini's Sūtra* will suffice to cover all the usages under three headings - *preṣaṇa*, *adhyeṣaṇa* and *tatsamarthācaraṇa* - *pathikaḥ māhiṣmatyām sūryamudgamayati* (the wayfarer raises Sun in the city of *Māhiṣmatī*, i.e. he would arrive in the city by sunrise), *kamsam ghātayati* (the story teller is making *kamsa's* killing, i.e. the act or activity is being enacted and treated as if it is happening now, this sentence is offered as an answer when people who are late to the drama enquire) etc. are analysed by the *Sūtra* itself.

*Patañjali* (13) analyses the aspect of independence in case of *prayojaka* (employee) in light of the observations made by *Kātyāyana* (i.e. since a person who employs only can have independence and not the one who is employed and thus the employee cannot be called *hetu* as he is not *svatantra*/independent - *svatantraḥ kartā, tatprayojako hetuśca*, 1-4-54, 55) - nobody in the world is behaving out of kindness towards others, rather all the people are trying for their selfish ends. The disciples are serving the guru in order to attain *pāralaukika* (good result in the other world) and for teaching by guru. The workers are also working with a view of getting the daily payment, oil etc. and also not to get reprimanded. The experts also are doing things for their own good - we will get salary and friends as well. Therefore, there is *kartrtva* in *prayojaka*.

*Dhātorekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yañ* (3-1-22): Recurrence and abundance are referred to by the term *kriyāsamabhihāra*. *Yañ-pratyaya* would come on a *halādidhātu* having a single *ac* suggesting (*dyotyā*) and not expressing (*vācyā*) *kriyāsamabhihāra*. *Abhyāsa* will get *guṇa* by *guṇo yañlukhoḥ* (7-4-82) and *ātmanepadam* by *anudātta nita ātmanepadam* (1-3-12). As it was in the case of *sannantas* the *dhātu* will get *dvitva* (reduplication) by *sanyaṇoḥ* (6-1-9) - *pāpacyate caitraḥ* (*Caitra* is cooking time and again or plenty). *Sosūcyate* (*sūca paśunye* - to vilify) etc.

*Ekārthibhāva* has to be imposed in the *prakṛti* - *pratyaya* combination as this is a *Padavidhi*. Since the meaning to be expressed, i.e. *kriyāsamabhihāra* cannot be conveyed thru a *Vākya*, *yañ-pratyaya* is *nitya*, rather *Ekārthibhāva* is *nitya*. This is suggested by *Kātyāyana* (14) under 3-1-23, i.e. *nityam kauṭilye gatau* - since the specific meaning is not conveyed by *vigraha* the term *nityam* (it runs into 3-1-24 as *anuvṛtti*) is not required. *Harī* compares this with *nityam* in *nityam kṛdājīvikayoḥ* (2-2-17). Rather since *vā* follows from *dātoḥ samānakartṛkādicchāyām vā* (3-1-7), *yañ* will be optional - there will be lot by *kriyāsamabhihāre dve bhavataḥ* (*Vārtika* under 8-1-12) - *sā bhavān lunīhi lunīhityevāyam lunāti, punīhi punīhityevāyam punāti*. *Kaiyaṭa* (15) while commenting on the above *Vārtika* says that since in the case of lot only is this *dvitva* applicable (significant



is the fact that the context as to whether duitva will be there in loṭ or yañ - is not mentioned in the Vārtika) and not in yañ as loṭ (even in samuccaya, duitva is instituted by samuccaye sāmānyavacanasya 3-4-5) does not have the sāmārthya (capacity) to express samabhivyāhāra, rather yañ does not need duitva as it per se denotes (dyotana) kriyāsamabhihāra. The word dhātoḥ in Sūtra is for ārdhadhātukatva and the nakāra in yañ is for ātmanepada.

Nyāsakāra, Jinendrabuddhi, explains that kriyā will be two-fold - pradhānā and apradhānā. The softening of raw rice is the former whereas putting the pot on hearth etc. is the latter. If the cook completes cooking and again starts the same activity it is paunaḥpunyam (recurrence) and if he is involved only in apradhānakriyas completely then it is bhṛṣārthatā (abundance) - jājvalyate, dedīpyate - guṇa by guṇo yañlukoḥ (7-4-82). Dedīpyamāna, jājvalyamāna etc. by adding śānac-pratyaya. Yañantas and yañlugantas are rarely used and a person with the knowledge of these paradigms is considered highly.

**Nityam kauṭilye gatau (3-1-23):** Yañ will be constantly there on dhātus that mean going in the sense of kauṭilya (zig-zag) only - camkramyate, damdramyate - kuṭīlam krāmāti - is the vighraha. Jinendrabuddhi explains that a person who travels to and fro across a narrow path is referred to by these words.

**Rīgrdupadhasya ca (7-4-90):** The abhyāsa of a ṛdupadhadhātu will get rigāgama in yañ and yañluk. Narīṇṛtyate (dancing time and again), parīpṛchyate (being asked time and again).

**Yañ'o'ci ca (2-4-74):** Yañ pratyaya will get luk whether followed or not by ac-pratyaya - bobhavīti / bobhoti, momudīti / momotti. Rk, rik and rīk-āgamās by ṛtaśca (7-4-92) - carkarīti / carkarti / carikarti / carīkarti.

**Kaṇḍvādibhyo yak (3-1-27):** Kaṇḍvādiṣ (16) are both dhātus and prātipadikas. Here since there won't be any use by yak and the kittva therein it is decided that dhātus are to be taken and not prātipadikas. From dhātorekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yañ (3-1-22) the word dhātoḥ follows. How to decide that there are kaṇḍvādiprātipadikas?

Kaṇḍūñ, hrññ, mahñ etc. are pronounced by Pāṇini as dīrghāntās. If they are dhātus then only will they get dīrgha by akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ dīrghaḥ (7-4-25) in case yak is applied. The yak-pratyaya is nitya since vā is read in the next Sūtra and in case this pratyaya is optional, vā comes as anuvṛtti from earlier Sūtra and goes further. Since the sense is not mentioned in the Sūtra yak comes in svārtha. Kaṇḍūyati / kaṇḍūyate (it is itching), kaṇḍūḥ (itch). Hrñīyate, mahīyate, sukhīyati, duḥkhyati (ato lopaḥ, 6-4-48), asūyati / asūyate, asūyā (a pratyayāt, 3-3-102).

**Gupūdhūpavicchipanīpanibhya āyaḥ (3-1-28):** Dhātoḥ from dhātorekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yañ (3-1-22) follows. The result is ārdhadhātukatva and guṇa by pugantalaghūpadhasya ca (7-3-86). Since no sense is mentioned in the Sūtra, āya-pratyaya is in svārtha - gopāyati. Pāṇini by another Sūtra, i.e. āyādaya ārdhadhātuke vā (3-1-31) made āyādi (āya, īyañ and ñiñ) optional in ārdhadhātukavivakṣā. Ām will be added (kāspratyayādāmamantre liṭi, 3-1-35) in case āya is applied (in liṭ), ato lopaḥ (6-4-48 under ārdhadhātuke, 6-4-46) - gopāyāmcakāra / gopāyāmbabhūva / gopāyāmāsa. In case āya is not applied it will be jugopa. Dhūpāyati, dhūpāyāmcakāra / dudhūpa.

**Rterīyañ (3-1-29):** Rti is a sautradhātu, i.e. is not there in dhātupāṭha. It is in svārtha apparently. This Sūtra has got its own significance as instead of making it rteschañ and getting īyādeśa by āyaneyīñīyāḥ phadḥakhachaghām pratyayādīnām (7-1-2) Pāṇini made it īyañ to suggest that āyan etc. won't apply to dhātupratyayas. This results in the conclusion that Pāṇini does not believe in Vyutpattipakṣa (i.e. Prātipadikas are formed by adding pratyayas like uñādi on dhātus) like his predecessor Śakāṭāyana and Nairuktas, rather he supports Avyutpattipakṣa. īyasun in dvivacanavibhajyopapade tarabīyasunau (5-3-57) is not replaced by chasun, but this cannot be taken as a proof on a par with īyañ as in that case āyan etc. will have no place at all - asserts Nāgeśa (17) in Udyota. The dhātu, according to some, is used in the sense of jugupsā (hate) and others kṛpā (mercy) also. Prakriyā is like in case of āya - ṛtiyate, ṛtiyāmcakre.



*Kamerṇiṇ (3-1-30): Niṇ-pratyaya on kamidhātu in svārtha. Prakriyā as in the case of āya and īyaṇ - kāmāyate caitraḥ (Caitra desires), ceto nalam kāmāyate madīyam (says Damayanti in Naiṣadhīyacarita of Śrīharṣa - my mind desires Nala), Kāmāyāmcakre (ṇi has got ayādeśa by ayāmantālvayyetnviṣṇuṣu, 6-4-55) / cakame. By adding śānac - kāmāyamāna-kanye kāmāyamānam mām na tvam kāmāyase katham? - Daṇḍī in Kāvyaḍarśa (o! virgin I love you how come you do not reciprocate?).*

*Among the twelve Sanādipratyayas eleven are said by Pāṇini and ācārakvip is said by Kātyāyana.*

\*\*\*

## REFERENCES

### INTRODUCTION

1. *svabhāvataścaitadbhavati - vākyam ca samāsaśca*  
- Patañjali 2-1-1.
2. *abudhān pratyupāyāśca vicitrāḥ pratipattaye*  
*śabdāntaratvādatyantabhedo vākyasamāsayoḥ*  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 49.  
*abudhān prati vṛttim ca vartayantaḥ prakalpitām*  
*āhuḥ parārthavacane tyāgābhyuccayadharmatām*  
- 94 ibid.
3. *padasambandhī yo vidhiḥ sa samarthāśrito bodhyaḥ*  
- Kaumudī 2-1-1.
4. *arthaikatvādekam vākyam sākāṅkṣam cedvibhāge syāt*  
- Jaimini, Mīmāṃsādarśanam 2-1-14-46.
5. *tatraikārthibhāvaḥ sāmāthyam paribhāṣā cetyevam sūtram*  
*abhinnatarakam bhavati*  
- Patañjali, 2-1-1; also see Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa.
6. *parasparavyapekṣām sāmāthyameke*  
- Patañjali, ibid.
7. *vyapekṣaivātra sāmāthyam, na tvekārthibhāva ityāhuḥ*  
- Pradīpa, ibid.
8. *abhedaiikatvasamkhyā vā tatrānyaivopajāyate*  
*samsargarūpam samkhyānāmavibhaktam taducyate*  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 99.
9. *samkhyāviśeṣāṇavagatirevābhedaiikatvasamkhyāpadenocyate,*  
*bhedasahacaritadvitvāderekatvasya cābhānamiti tadarthaḥ*  
*taduktam hariṇā vācikā dyotikā vāpi samkhyānām yā*  
*vibhaktayaḥ tadrūpe'vayave vṛttau samkhyābhedo nivartate.*  
- Mañjūṣā, Vṛtti (Vākya, Vṛtti 98).

10. *yathauśadhiraśāḥ sarve madhunyaḥitaśaktayaḥ  
avibhāgena vartante tām samkhyām tādrśīm viduḥ  
- Hari, Vākya 100.*
11. *arthānādeśanāt, na hyarthā ādiśyante, ... cārthe yaḥ. sa  
dvandvaḥ laghvartham hyarthā nādiśyante ... anavasthā ca  
syāt, ... ko hi nāma samarthāḥ ...  
- Patañjali 2-1-1.*
12. *saviśeṣaṇānām vṛttirna, vṛttasya vā viśeṣaṇayogo na  
- Kātyāyana 2-1-1.*
13. *sāpekṣam asamartham bhavati  
- Patañjali ibid.*  
*idameva padārthaḥ padārthena (annveti natvekadeśena) iti  
vyutpatteḥ mūlam iti dik  
- Nāgeśa 2-1-1.*
14. *samudāyena sambandho yeṣām gurukulādinā  
samsprśyāvayavāmste tu yujyante tadvatā saha  
sambandhiśabdaḥ sāpekṣo nityam sarvaḥ prayujyate  
vākyavat sā vyapekṣā hi vṛttāvapi na hīyate  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 47, 48.*
15. *yatra ca gamako bhavati, bhavati tatra vṛttih;  
avaśyam kasyacinnañsamāsasya asamarthasya  
gamakasya sādhutvam vaktavyam  
- Patañjali 2-1-1.*

### SAMĀSAVṚTTIḤ

1. *supā ca saha sup samasyate, adhikāraśca lakṣaṇam ca, yasya  
samāsasya anyallakṣaṇam nāsti idam tasya lakṣaṇam  
bhaviṣyati punarutsyūtam vāso deyam, punarniṣkṛto rathaḥ  
- Patañjali 2-1-4.*
2. *vibhāṣeti yogavibhāgaḥ  
- Kātyāyana 2-1-11.*

*vibhāṣeti yogavibhāgaḥ kartavyaḥ, vibhāṣā  
ityayamadhikāraḥ  
- Patañjali 2-1-11.*

3. *vibhāṣāgrahaṇam ca sāmartyenaiva sambadhyate,  
vyākhyānāt  
- Nāgeśa 2-1-17.*
4. *iha samānārthena vākyaena bhavitavyam samāśena ca  
- Patañjali 2-1-1.*
5. *kriḍāyām jīvikāyām ca vākyaenāvacanāttathā  
na nityagrahaṇam yuktam kauṭilye yañvidhau yathā  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti, 40.*
6. *yā sāmānyāśrayā samjñā viśeṣaviśayā ca yā  
bahulagrahaṇānnāsti pravṛttirubhayostayoḥ  
  
susūkṣmajaṭakeśādau samāso'vayave yadi  
syāt syāttatrāntaraṅgatvād bādhako'vayavasvaraḥ  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 56, 57.*
7. *atha kriyamāne'pi samarthagrahaṇe iha kasmānna bhavati -  
mahat kaṣṭam śritaḥ iti, na vā bhavati mahākaṣṭaśritaḥ iti?  
bhavati yadaitadvākyam bhavati-mahat kaṣṭam mahākaṣṭam,  
mahākaṣṭam śrito mahākaṣṭaśrita iti; yadā tvetad vākyam  
bhavati-mahat kaṣṭam śrita iti, tadā na bhavitavyam, tadā ca  
prāpnoti - Patañjali 2-1-1.*  
  
*yadyatra kaṣṭaśritaśabdayoḥ samāsaḥ syāttadā mahatkaṣṭaśrita  
iti syāt, athāpi trayāṇām padānām samāsaḥ  
syāttathāpyuttarapade vidhīyamānam āttvam madhyamapade  
na syāt; athāpi trayāṇām samāse kṛte sanmahaditi dvayoḥ  
samāsaḥ - Kaiyaṭa 2-1-1.*  
  
*mahākaṣṭaśritetvevam na syādbhedāḥ padatraye  
vṛttāvavayavasyāttvam yasmānna pratiśidhyate  
- Hari. Vākya. Vṛtti 60.*



*tadā kasmānna bhavati? kasya kasmānna bhavati? kim dvayoh? āhosvit bahūnām? bahūnām kasmānna bhavati?supsupeti vartate, ākṛtistu pratyekam parisamāpyate, na samudāye, dvayoścaitat parisamāpyate na bahuṣu - Patañjali 2-1-1.*

8. *ya eva ca mahākaṣṭam śrito mahākaṣṭaśrita ityatra ahīne dvitīyā iti svarō bhavati. tatra sa eva samāsasyetyanena, tathāpi mahāraṇyātīta ityatra svarō bhidyate - Kaiyaṭa - ibid.*

9. *mahāraṇya matīte tu tripadādbhidyate svarah, yasmāttatrāntaraṅgatvāt bādhako'vayavasvarah*

*satiśiṣṭabaliyastvāt thāthādisvara eva tu, dvipade tena yugapat tritayam na samasyate - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 61&62.*

10. *samkhyāyā vivakṣitatvādekasyaiva subantasya ekenaiva subantena samāsaḥ tato bahūnām na bhavatītyarthaḥ, yathā paśunā yajetetyanekasya paśorupādānābhāvastathehāpi - Kaiyaṭa 2-1-1.*

11. *adhītya snātvā gurubhīranujñātena khatvāroḍhavyā, ya idānīm ato'nyathā karoti sa ucyate khatvārūḍho'yam jālmo nātivratavān - Patañjali 2-1-25.*

12. *annena vyañjanam bhakṣyeṇa miśṛikaraṇam ityasamarthasamāsaḥ, yuktārthasampratyayācca sāmāthyam, sampratyayācca tadadhyavasānam - Kātyāyana 2-1-33, 34.*

13. *annena vyañjanam, bhakṣyeṇa miśṛikaraṇam ityasamarthasamaso'yam draṣṭavyaḥ, kim kāraṇam? kārakāṇām kriyāsamarthatvāt, kārakāṇām kriyayā sāmāthyamasti, na teṣāmanyonyena, tadyathā nīśṛayaṇyā dvābhyām kāṣṭhābhyām sāmāthyam, na teṣāmanyonyena, katham tarhi sāmāthyam gamyate, dadhnā yuktārthatā sampratīyate, sampratyayācca tadartho'dhyavasīyate, avaśyam caitadevam vijñeyam, sampratīyamānārthalope hyanavasthā - Patañjali, ibid.*

*prakārāntareṇa vidhiniṣedhalakṣaṇāvasāyāccaritārthatvāt yathā śabdānām prayogo nāsti tathā yuktādīnāmapītyarthaḥ - Kaiyaṭa ibid.*

14. *yathā tīrthakākā na ciram sthātāro bhavanti, evam yo gurukulāni gatvā na ciram tiṣṭhati sa ucyate tīrthakāka iti - Patañjali 2-1-41.*

15. *vaiyākaraṇakhasūciḥ, kim vyākaraṇam kutsitam, āhosvid vaiyākaraṇaḥ? vaiyākaraṇaḥ kutsitaḥ, tasmin kutsite tatsthamapi kutsitam bhavati - Patañjali 2-1-52.*

16. *ayam bhāvaḥ - śabdapravṛttinimittakutsāyāmayam samāsa iṣyate, vaiyākaraṇścaura ityādaṁ mā bhūditi, tatra vyākaraṇasya vedāṅgatvānnāsti kutsā, nāpi tadadhīyānasya - Kaiyaṭa ibid.*

17. *upamānānītyucyate, kāni punarupamānāni? kim yadevopamānam tadevopameyam? āhosvit anyadevopamānam anyadupameyam? kimcātaḥ? yadi yadevopamānam tadevopameyam ka ihopamārthaḥ gauriva gauriti, athānyadeva upamānamanyadupameyam, ka ihopamārthaḥ gaurivāśva iti - Patañjali 2-1-54.*

*upamānatvam ca sādharmaṇadharmavattvena īṣaditara-paricchedakatvam, tadadharmavattayā paricchedyatvam copameyatvam - Nāgeśa, Mañjūṣa, Nipāta.*

18. *ekajātivyapekṣāyām tadevetyavasīyate bhedasyaiva vyapekṣāyām anyadeveti gamyate - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 389.*

19. *evam tarhi yatra kimcitsāmānyam kaścicca viśeṣaḥ tatropamanopameye bhavataḥ - Patañjali 2-1-54.*

20. *kimcidyatṛāsti sāmānyam yadi bhedāśca kecana gotvam goṣvasti sāmānyam bhedāśca śabalādayaḥ - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 396.*



21. *nahi, kathamanucyamānam gamsyate? mānam hi nāma anirjñātajñānārthamupādīyate - anirjñātamartham jñāsyāmīti, tatsamīpe yannātyantāya mimīte tadupamānam gauriva gavaya iti, gauḥ nirjñātaḥ gavayo' nirjñātaḥ - Patañjali 2-1-54.*
22. *nātyantāya mimīte yat sāmānye samavasthitam sādṛśyādupameyārthaḥ samīpe parikalpyate - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 387.*
- mānam prati samīpam vā sādṛśyena pratiyate paricchedāddhi sādṛśyamiha mānopamānayoh - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 388.*
23. *sāmānyam śyāmatādyeva taddhi sādharmaṇam dvayoh tadeva siddhyasiddhibhyām bheda ityapadiśyate - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 397.*
24. *śyāmatvameva sāmānyamanyeśāmubhayoh sthitam sampūrṇatvāt tadanyatvāt viśeṣa iti kathyate - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 398.*
25. *bahuvrīhiartham tu (vārtikam) bahuvrīhipratiśedhārtham tu śeṣagrahaṇam kartavyam - śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ iti, kim prayojanam prayojanamavyayībhāvopamānadvigukṛllopeṣu (vārtikam) upamāna - śāstrīśyamā, kumudaśyenī - Patañjali 1-4-1.*
26. *syāmeva śāstrī kanyeti yathānyadvypadiśyate asan brāhmaṇa ityābhyām tathānye kṣastriyādayaḥ syāmatva mupamāne cedvṛttau vṛttam prayujyate upameyam samāsenā bāhyam tatrābhidhīyate - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 297 & 408.*
- evam tarhi tasyāmevobhayam vartate - Patañjali 1-4-1.*
- śāstrīva śāstrī syāmeti devadatteva kathyate tasyāmevobhayam tasmāducyate śāstravigrahe - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 419.*

27. *sāmānyāprayoge iti kimartham? iha mā bhūt puruṣo'yam vyāghra iva śūraḥ, puruṣo'yam vyāghra iva balavān - Patañjali 2-1-55.*
28. *vyāghraśabdo yathā śauryāt puruṣārthe' vatiṣṭhate tadādhikaraṇābhedāt samāsasyāsti sambhavaḥ bhinne' dhikaraṇe vṛttestatra naivāsti sambhavaḥ - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 428 & 429.*
- upamānapratipādanaparametat, vaiyadhikaraṇyādevātra samāsasyāprasaṅgaḥ, yadā tu vyāghraśabdaḥ puruṣārthe eva vartate tadā sāmānādhikaraṇye sati samāsenā bhāvyaḥ - Kaiyaṭa 2-1-55.*
29. *sāmānādhikaraṇye'pi guṇabhedasya sambhavāt prayogaśśūraśabdasya samāse' pyanuṣajyate pūjopādhiśca yo dṛṣṭaḥ kutsanopādhayaśca ye teṣām bhinnanimittatvāt niyamārthā punaḥ śrutih - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 430 & 431.*
30. *asāmarthyāt, kathamasāmarthyam, sāpekṣamasamartham bhavatīti, evam tarhi siddhe sati yat sāmānyāprayoge iti pratiśedham śāsti tajjñāpayatyācāryo bhavati vai pradhānasya sāpekṣasyāpi samāsaḥ, kimetasya jñāpane prayojanam? rājapuruṣo' bhirūpaḥ, rājapuruṣo darśanīyaḥ, atra vṛttili siddhā bhavati - Patañjali 2-1-55.*
- asambhave'pi vā vṛtteḥ syādetalliṅgadarśanam acveriti yathāliṅgamabhāve'pi bhr̥śādiṣu - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 432.*
- nyāyasiddha evārthe liṅgadarśanamidam, prādhānyādevāneko-pakāra-kopākāryatvāvirodhāt samāsasya siddhatvāt - Kaiyaṭa 2-1-55.*
- anekopakāra-kopākāryatvam anekaviśeṣaṇaviśeṣyatvam - Nāgeśa ibid.*



31. *kvacitpravṛttiḥ kvacidapravṛttiḥ kvacidvibhāṣā kvacidanyadeva vidhervidhānam bahudhā samikṣya caturvidham bāhulakam vadanti - abhiyuktokti.*

*yā sāmānyāśrayā samjñā viśeṣaviśayā ca yā bahulagrahaṇānnāsti pravṛttirubhayostayoḥ*  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 56.

32. *viśeṣanādviśeṣye'rthe tadbhāvābhyuccaye sati punaśca pratisamhāre vṛttimeke pracakṣate*  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 88.

33. *anusyūteva samsṛṣṭerathe buddhiḥ pravartate vyākhyātāro vibhajyātha tām bhedenā pracakṣate tadātmanyavibhakte ca buddhyantaramupāśritāḥ vibhāgamiva manyante viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyayoḥ*  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 92 & 93.

34. *viśeṣyam syādanirjñātam nirjñātārtho viśeṣaṇam parārthatvena śeṣatvam sarveṣāmupakāriṇām*  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 7.

35. *kimpradhāno'yam samāsaḥ? uttarapadārthapradhānaḥ, yadyuttarapadārthapradhānaḥ abrahmaṇamānayetukte brāhmaṇamātrasyānayanam prāproti,*  
- Patañjali 2-2-6.

*padārthānupaghātena drśyate ca viśeṣaṇam atha jātimate'rthasya kaścīdartho vivartitaḥ*

*avaśyam brāhmaṇe kaścīd kvaciddharmo na vidyate viśeṣāvacanāttatra nañāḥ śrutiranarthikā*  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 268 & 269.

36. *anyapadārthapradhānastarhi bhaviṣyati, yadi anyapadārthapradhānaḥ avarṣā hemantaḥ iti hemantasya yallīṅgam vacanam ca tat samāsasyāpi prāpnoti*  
- Patañjali 2-2-6.

*ekārthe vartamānābhyāmasatā brāhmaṇena ca yadā jātyantaram bāhyam kṣatriyādyapadiśyate*

*avṛṣṭayo yathā varṣā nīhārābhrasamāvṛtāḥ tadrūpatvāt sa hemantaḥ ityabhinnaḥ pratiyate*  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 296 & 301.

37. *pūrvapadārthapradhānastarhi bhaviṣyati, yadi pūrvapadārthapradhānaḥ avyayasamjñā prāpnoti, avyayam hyasya pūrvapadamiti tatra kimasmābhiḥ śakyam kartum yannañāḥ prāk samāsāllīṅgasamkhyābhyām yogo nāsti samāse ca bhavati, svābhāvīkametat - Patañjali 2-2-6.*

*sāmānyadravyavṛttitvānnimittānuvidhāyinaḥ ayogo līṅgasamkhyābhyām syādvā sāmānyadharmatā*

*prāgasattvābhidhāyitvam samāse dravyavācītā nimittānuvidhānam ca na sarvatra svābhāvataḥ*  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 307 & 308.

38. *śāstrapravṛttibhede'pi laukikārtho na bhidyate nañsamāse yatastatra trayāḥ pakṣā vicāritāḥ*  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 248.

39. *śeṣa ityucyate, kaḥ śeṣo nāma? yeṣāṃ padānāmanuktaḥ samāsaḥ sa śeṣaḥ, yasya trikasya anuktaḥ samāsaḥ sa śeṣaḥ, kasya cānuktaḥ? prathamāyāḥ - Patañjali 2-2-23.*

40. *padārthābhidhāne anuprayogānupapattiḥ abhihitatvāt iti, sāmānyābhidhāne hi viśeṣānabhidhānam, tatrāvaśyam viśeṣārthinā viśeṣo'nuprayoktavyaḥ, citraguḥ kaḥ devadattaḥ iti, athavā vibhaktyartha'bhidhīyate, etaccātra yuktam yadvibhaktyartha'bhidhīyate tatra hi sarvapaścāt padam vartate asyeti - Patañjali 2-2-24.*

*pradhānamanyārthatayā bhinnam svairupasarjanaiḥ nimittamabhidheyam vā sarvapaścādapekṣyate*  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 235.



41. *yadi tarhi vibhaktyartho'bhidhīyate kṛtsnaḥ padārthaḥ kathamabhihito bhavati sadravyaḥ salingaḥ sasamkhyāśca? arthagrahaṇasāmāthyāt, iha anekamanyapade itīyatā siddham, katham punaḥ pade nāma vṛttiḥ syāt? padam nāma śabdaḥ, śabdo hyeṣaḥ, śabde hyasambhavādārthe kāryam vijñāsyate, so'yamevam siddhe sati yadarthagrahaṇam karoti tasyaitat prayojanam kṛtsnaḥ padārtho yathābhidhīyate sadravyaḥ, salingaḥ sasamkhyāśceti* - Patañjali 2-2-24.
42. *svāmini vyatirekaśca vākye yadyapi dṛśyate prādhānya eva tasyeṣṭo bahuvrīhivivakṣite* - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 236.
43. *nedamubhayam yugapatsambhavati, vākyam samāsaśca* - Patañjali 2-2-24.
44. *bhavati bahuvrīhau tadguṇasamvijñānamapi, tadyathā-suklavāsasamānaya, lohitoṣṇīṣāḥ pracarantīti, tadguṇa ānīyate tadgunāśca pracaranti* - Patañjali 2-1-68 (also 1-1-24)
45. *evam yathā vijñāyeta cena kṛto'rthaḥ cārtha iti, kaḥ punaḥ cena kṛto'rthaḥ? samuccayaḥ, anvācayaḥ, itaretarayogaḥ samāhāra iti* - Patañjali 2-2-29.
46. *dhavakhadirāvityādaḥ itaretarayogadvandve udbhūtāva yavabhedāḥ samūhaḥ samāsārthaḥ, pāṇipādamityādi samāhāre tu anudbhūtāvayavabhedāḥ samūho viśeṣa iti bodhyam* - Nāgeśa, Mañjūṣā, Dvandva.
47. *samuccayānvācayayostu na samāso'nabhidhānāt* - Nāgeśa, Mañjūṣā, Dvandva. *evamca samuccayānvācayayoścakāro dyotakaḥ, antyayostu vācakaḥ* - Nāgeśa, Udyota, 2-2-29.
- yugapadadhikaraṇe dvandvo bhavatīti vaktavyam* - Patañjali 2-2-29.

48. *yugapādekaikena śabdenādhikaraṇam abhidheyam dvandvavācyaṁ samudāyarūpam yadocyate tadā dvandvaḥ* - Kaiyaṭa, Pradīpa 2-2-29.
- adhikaraṇam vartipadārthau tayoryugapātpadad vayanābhidhāne dvandva iti tadarthaḥ* - Nāgeśa, Mañjūṣā, Dvandva.
49. *vigrahe ca yugapadvacanam jñāpakam yugapadvacanasya* - Kātyāyana 2-2-29.
- vigrahe khalvapi yugapadvacanatā dṛśyate, kimetat? yugapadadhikaraṇavacanatāyā upodbalakam, vigrahe kila nāma yugapadadhikaraṇavacanatā syāt, kim punaḥ samāse?* - Patañjali *ibid.*
50. *śaundārthaśca purodāśaśchatrīno'tra nidarśanam te viṣṇumitrā iti ca bhinneṣu saha cārīṣu*
- samudāyāntaratvācca tādrśo'rtho na laukikaḥ anvayavyatirekābhyām śāstrārtho'pi na dṛśyate*
- duḥkhā durupapādā ca tasmādbhāṣye pyudāhṛtā yugapadvācitā sā tu vyavahārārthamāśritā* - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 31, 33 & 34.
51. *seyam yugapadadhikaraṇavacanatā nāma duḥkhā ca durupapādāca, yaccāpyasyā nibandhanāmuktam* - dyāvā ha kṣāmeti tadapi chāndasam, tatra supām supo bhavāntītyeva siddham, sūtram ca bhidyate - Patañjali 2-2-29.
- duḥkheti - pratitāvanupārohāt, durupapādeti - pramānābhāvāt* - Kaiyaṭa, *ibid.*
- tatra duḥkhatvam pratitāvanupārohāt, durupapādetyaśya duṣṭam nissāramupapādanam yasyāḥ sā niṣpramānetyarthaḥ* - Nāgeśa, Mañjūṣā, Dvandva.
52. *prakṛtamanuvartate, kva prakṛtam? tiṣyapunarvasvoḥ nakṣatradvandve bahuvacanasya dvivacanam nityam, iti, anavakāśa ekaśeṣaḥ dvandvam bādhiṣyate* - Patañjali 1-2-64.



53. ākṛtivācitvādekavacanam bhaviṣyati, yadā dravyābhidhānam tadā dvivacanabahuvacane bhaviṣyataḥ - Patañjali ibid.

ākṛtissarvaśabdānām yadā vācyā pratiyate  
ekatvādekaśabdatvam nyāyā tasyāmca varṇyate

abhede tvekaśabdatvāt śāstrācca vacane sati  
ekaśeṣo na vaktavyaḥ vacanānām ca sambhavaḥ  
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 316 & 322.

ākṛtivācitvādekavacanam  
- Kātyāyana 1-2-69.

54. na vai maskarī maskaro'syāstīti parivrājakaḥ, kim tarhi?  
mā kṛta karmāṇi, mā kṛta karmāṇi śāntirvaḥ śreyasītyāha ato  
maskaro parivrājakaḥ - Patañjali 6-1-154.

### KṚDVṚTTIḤ

1. yāvatā cedānīm padagandho'sti padavidhirayam bhavati,  
padavidhiśca samarthānām bhavati - Patañjali 3-1-92.
2. bhāṣye gandhaśabdaḥ sambandhavācī  
- Nāgeśa ibid.
3. yattāvaducyate - samarthagrahaṇam kartavyamiti, na  
kartavyam, dhātoriti vartate, dhātoḥ karmanyaḥ bhavati,  
tatra sambandhādetad gantavyam yasya dhātoryatkarmeti  
- Patañjali ibid.
4. yata upapadamiti mahatyāḥ samjñāyāḥ karaṇam pratyayasya  
padāśrayatve sati paribhāṣāvyāpārārthameva - Kaiyaṭa 2-2-1.
5. samjñāsūtrasthataṭtragrahaṇasya cetyapi bodhyam,  
yathākathamcit padasambandhividheḥ tatra grahaṇamiti  
bhāvaḥ - Nāgeśa ibid.
6. bhavitavyam yadaitadvākyam bhavati mahān kumbho  
mahākumbhaḥ, mahākumbham karotīti mahākumbhakāraḥ,  
yadā tvetadvākyam bhavati - mahāntam kumbham karotīti tadā  
na bhavitavyam, tatrāsāmarthyānna bhaviṣyati - Patañjali  
3-1-92.

7. ācāryapravṛttiḥ jñāpayati - nānubandhakṛtam asārūpyam  
bhavati iti, yadayam dadātidadhātyorvibhāṣām śāsti  
- Patañjali 3-1-94.

8. tatrāyam nirṇayaḥ - stryadhikārasya parastādapi  
vāsarūpavidhirbhavati, arhe kṛtyatṛcaścetyatra tu  
kṛtyatṛjgrahaṇena tasyānityatvam jñāpyate - Kaiyaṭa 3-1-94.

etacca stryadhikārāt pareṇāpi vāsarūpavidhiḥ kvacit  
svaritatvapratijñānāllabhyate - Nyāsa 3-3-163.

9. karmakartari cāyam kaiścidiṣyate, bhāṣyakāreṇa tu karmaṇi  
pradarśitaḥ - Kaiyaṭa 3-1-96.

kaiściditi, vṛttikārairityarthaḥ, na hi tavyaḥ karmakartari,  
lakāravācyāḥ kartā karmavaditi vacanāditi bhāvaḥ - Nāgeśa  
ibid.

10. vasestavyat kartari vaktavyaḥ, ṇic cāsau bhavatīti vaktavyam,  
vasatīti vāstavyaḥ, taddhito vā punareṣa bhaviṣyati, vāstuni  
bhavo vāstavyaḥ - Patañjali 3-1-96.

nityānām śabdānām yathākathañcidanvākhyānam  
kartavyamiti manyate, yathoktam - upādāyāpi ye  
heyāstānupāyān pracakṣate, upāyānām ca niyamo  
nāvaśyamavatiṣṭhate (Vākya, Vākya. 38) - Kaiyaṭa ibid.

upādāyāpi ye heyā iti upāyaśabdavyutpattiḥ, pṛṣodarādītvaṭ  
sādhuḥ, rekhāgavayasthānīyatvāditi bhāvaḥ  
- Nāgeśa ibid.

11. kṛto bahulam pādahāarakādyartham  
- Kātyāyana 3-3-113.

kṛto bahulamiti vaktavyam, pādahāarakādyartham  
- Patañjali ibid.

12. karmaṇi nirvartyamānavikriyamāṇe  
- Kātyāyana 3-2-1.



karmaṇi nirvartyamānavikriyamāna iti vaktavyam, iha mā  
bhūt ādityam paśyati, himavantam śṛṇoti, grāmam gacchati  
- Patañjali ibid.

nirvartyam ca vikāryam ca prāpyam ceti tridhā matam  
tatrepstatatam karma...

sati vā vidyamānā vā prakṛtiḥ pariṇāmini  
yasya nāśrīyate tasya nirvartyatvam pracakṣate  
prakṛtestu vivakṣāyām vikāryam ...

kriyākṛtaviśeṣāṇām siddhiryatā na gamyate  
darśanādanumānādvā tatprāpyamiti kathyate

- Hari, Vākya, Sādhana 45, 47, 48 & 51.

13. anabhidhānāt  
- Kātyāyana 3-2-1.

14. kitkaraṇam samyogārtham  
- Kātyāyana 3-2-106.

15. kitkaraṇam kriyate, samyogāntārtham, samyogāntāḥ  
prajayanti chāndasau kānackvasū, liṭ ca chandasi  
sārvadhātukamapid- bhavati tatra sārvadhātukamapit  
nidvadbhavati, nitvādupadhālopo bhaviṣyati - Patañjali ibid.

16. ṛkāṛāntaḥpratiṣedhārtham vā  
- Kātyāyana ibid.

17. ayam hi liṭi ṛkāṛāntānām pratiṣedhaviṣaye guṇa ārabhyate,  
punaḥ kitkaraṇāt pratiṣedhyate, tasmāt kittvam kartavyam  
- Patañjali ibid.

18. kitkaraṇam kitkāryārtham, samyogāntā api kittvam bhāṣāyām  
prajayanti, na chandasi, na kittve, nittve vā chandasi  
kaścidviśeṣo'sti, bhāṣāyām tu kittvamarthavadbhavati  
(nipapurāṇa iti), bhāṣāyām kānajbhavatītyasmādeva  
jñāpakādavasīyate - Nyāsa 3-2-106.

19. Na cātropasargastantram iti, upasargo' tra na  
pradhānamityarthaḥ, tantratvam tasya bahulam chandasi  
ityataḥ bahulagrahaṇānuvrtterlabhyate- Nyāsa 3-2-109.

20. ekādiṣṭasya iṭy ityetadrūpam nipātyate  
- Patañjali ibid.

21. iṭyādeṣe dīrghoceāraṇam copetyasyāvivakṣāyām, bījam  
draṣṭavyam bhāṣye iṭy ity ity etadrūpam nipātyate  
varṇavyatyayo bodhyaḥ, loke tu upeyivānityeva sādhuḥ,  
upetyavivakṣāyām mānābhāvādityanyeva- Nāgeśa ibid.

22. anūcānaḥ kartarīti vaktavyam, anūktavān anūcānaḥ,  
anūktamityevānyatra - Patañjali ibid.

23. anūcānaḥ kartarī  
- Kātyāyana 3-2-109.

24. bāhulakam prakṛtestanudrṣṭeḥ, kāryasaśeṣavidheśca taduktam,  
nāigamarūḍhibhavam hi susādhu - Kātyāyana 3-3-1.

25. sarvābhyah prakṛtibhyah sarvapratyayānām tattadrūpeṇa  
vidhānam tu brahmaṇāpi durupapādamiti bhāvaḥ  
- Nāgeśa ibid.

26. nāma ca dhātujamāha nirukte, vyākaraṇe śakatasya ca tokam,  
yanna viśeṣapadārthasamuttham pratyayaḥ prakṛteśca  
tadūhyam - Kātyāyana ibid.

27. samjñāsu dhāturūpāṇi pratyayāśca tataḥ pare  
kāryādvīdyādanūbandham etacchāstramuñādiṣu  
- Patañjali ibid.

28. atha vā yadayam rterīyaṇīti dhātoḥ iyaṇam śāsti  
tajjñāpayatyācāryo na dhātupratyayānāmāyannādayo  
bhavantīti prātipadikavijñānācca bhagavataḥ pāṇinerācāryasya  
siddham - Patañjali 7-1-2.



29. *atha cetsamvijñānam nitye śatve tato vibhāṣeyam*  
- Kātyāyana 8-3-45.

*athāvvyutpannam prātipadikam tato nitye śatve prāpte*  
*tato vibhāṣeyam* - Patañjali ibid.

30. *pare tvatha cetsamvijñānamiti pāṇineḥ pakṣaḥ, sarpiṣetyādaḥ*  
*bahulagrahaṇāt kvacidanyadevetyarthakātsatvam siddham,*  
*dhvanitam ca āyaneyīti sūtre prātipadikavijñānācca*  
*bhagavatassidhamiti vadatāsyā pāṇinipakṣatvamityalam*  
- Nāgeśa ibid.

31. *tatra kamigrahaṇenaiva siddhatvāt*  
*kamsagrahaṇamanarthakam? na, jñāpanārthatvāt,*  
*etadanena jñāpyate - astīdamapi darśanam-*  
*uṇādayo'vyutpannāni prātipadikāni - iti* - Nyāsa 8-3-46.

32. *pakṣadvaye'pi doṣaparihārārthamevoktam, bhāṣye - uṇādayo*  
*bahulam ityasya uṇādyantāḥ śabdāḥ pratyayaprakṛtivibhāgena*  
*vyākaraṇāntare sādhitāḥ tatra sakalakāryasiddhyartham*  
*bahulagrahaṇam, macchāstre ca avyutpannānāmapi teṣām*  
*sakalakāryasiddhyartham bahulagrahaṇam kartavyamityartha*  
*ityāhuḥ* - Nāgeśa 8-3-59.

33. *gaurityeva svarūpādvā gośabdo goṣu vartate*  
*vyutpādyate na vā sarvam kaiściccobhayatheṣyate*  
- Hari, Vākya, Vākya 175.

34. *bhāve sarvaliṅgo nirdeśaḥ kartavyaḥ - bhūtau, bhavane,*  
*bhāve iti, pumliṅgenāyam nirdeśaḥ kriyate, ekavacanāntena ca,*  
*tena pumliṅge eva bhāve ekavacane caite pratyayāḥ syuḥ,*  
*strīnapumsakayoḥ dvivacanabahuvacanayōśca na syuḥ, nātra*  
*nirdeśaḥ tantram, nāntarīyakatvādatra pumliṅgena nirdeśaḥ*  
*kriyate, ekavacanena ca* - Patañjali 3-3-18.

35. *sāmānye bhāva ityatra yallīgamupalabhyate*  
*bhedānāmanumeyatvānna tatteṣu vivakṣyate*  
- Hari, Vākya, Kriyā 59.

*bhavatau yatpacādinām tāvadatropadiśyate*  
*na ca liṅgam pacādinām bhavatau samavasthitam* - ibid 61.

*ekaśca so'rthaḥ sattākhyāḥ kathañcit kaiściducyate*  
*liṅgānicāsyā bhidyante pacirūpādibhedavat* - ibid 62.

36. *nirdeśe caritārthatvāt liṅgam bhāve vivakṣitam*  
*upamānavidhatvācca bhāvādanyaḥ pacādiṣu*  
- Hari, Vākya, Kriyā 60.

37. *kimca pacaterbhavatirbhavati? sāmānyam, kinca bhavateḥ*  
*pacatirbhavati? viśeṣaḥ, tadyathā - upādhyāyasya śiṣyaḥ*  
*mātulasya bhāginēyam gatvāha - upādhyāyam bhavānabhi-*  
*vādayatāmiti, sa gatvā mātulam abhivādayate, tathā mātulasya*  
*bhāginēyaḥ upādhyāyasya śiṣyam, gatvāha-mātulam*  
*bhavānabhivādayatām iti, sa gatvā upādhyāyam abhivādayate,*  
*evamihāpi pacaterbhavatau yattanniridiśyate* - Patañjali 3-3-18.

38. *ācāryo mātulaśceti yathaiko vyapadiśyate*  
*sambandhibhedādarthātāmā sa vidhiḥ paktibhāvayoḥ*  
- Hari, Vākya, Kriyā 63.

39. *bhāva eva hi dhātvartha ityavicchinna āgamaḥ*  
- Hari, Vākya, Kriyā 23.

40. *kṛdabhihito bhāvo dravyavadbhavati, dravyam kriyayā*  
*samavāyam gacchati, kriyā kriyayā samavāyam na gacchati,*  
*tiṇabhihitena kālāpuruṣopagrahā vyajyante, kṛdabhihitena*  
*punarna vyajyante, tiṇabhihito bhāvaḥ kartrā samprayujyate,*  
*kṛdabhihitāḥ punarna samprayujyate, ayamapi viśeṣaḥ*  
*liṅgakṛtaḥ samkhyākṛtaḥ* - Patañjali 3-1-67.

41. *sādhyatvena kriyā tatra dhāturūpanibandhanā*  
*sattvabhāgastu yastasyāḥ sa ghañādīnibandhanāḥ*  
- Hari, Vākya, Kriyā 47.

42. *lakṛtyaktakhalarthānām tathāvvyayakṛtāmapi*  
*rūḍhiniṣṭhāgha nādinām dhātuḥ sādhyasya vācakaḥ*  
- ibid 52.



**TADDHITAVṚTTIḥ**

1. *priyataddhitā dākṣiṇātyāḥ*  
- Patañjali, Paspasā, Mahābhāṣyam
2. *keṣām śabdānām? vaidikānām laukikānām ca*  
- Paspasā
3. *samarthavacanamanarthakam, nahyasamarthenābhidhānam*  
- Kātyāyana 4-1-82.  
*prathamavacanamanarthakam, nahyaprathamēnā-*  
*rthābhidhānam* - ibid.  
*vāvacane cōktaṁ* - ibid.  
*prayuktānāmidamānvākhyānam pravṛttam*  
- Kaiyaṭa 4-1-82.  
*tulyanyāyāt samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ ityapi pratyākhyātamiti*  
*bodhyam* - Nāgeśa 4-1-82.  
*abhidhānalakṣaṇāśca kṛttaddhitasamāsāḥ*  
- Kaiyaṭa 4-1-78.
4. *taddhitārthanirdeśe liṅgavacanamapramāṇam,*  
*tasyāvivakṣitatvāt* - Kātyāyana 4-1-12.  
*nāntariyakatvādatra pūmliṅgena nirdēśaḥ kriyate,*  
*ekavanāntena ca, ... na hyatra nirdēśaḥ tantram*  
- Patañjali 4-1-12.
5. *sarvatraiva hi-śāstre'sminnāntariyakatvāt upāttam*  
*liṅgasamkhyam na vivakṣyate, kvacitsamkhyā tu vivakṣyate,*  
*yathā supsupeti* - Kaiyaṭa 4-1-12.
6. *apatyam pautraprabhṛti gotram, jīvati tu vamsye yuvā*  
- 4-1-162 & 163.
7. *bhrātari ca jyāyasi, vānyasmin śapiṇde sthaviratare jīvati*  
- 4-1-164, 165.
8. *eko gotre, gotrādīyūnyastriyām* - 4-1-93, 94.
9. *yā cedānīm prāgabhisambandhāt pumsā saha samprayogam*  
*gacchati tasyām kanyāśabdo vartata eva, kanyāyāḥ kanyoktāyāḥ*  
*kanyābhimatāyāḥ sudarśanāyāḥ yadapatyam sa kānīna iti*  
- Patañjali 4-1-116.
10. *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyādañ, salveyagāndhāribhyām ca,*  
*dvyāñmagadhakaliṅgasūramasādañ, vṛddhetkosalājādāññyañ,*  
*kurunādibhyo nyaḥ, sālvaṇvayavapratyagrathakalakūṭā*  
*śmakādiñ, te tadrājāḥ* - 4-1-166 to 172.
11. *tadrājasya bahuşu tenaivāstriyām* - 2-4-62.
12. *kimarthamimāvubhāvarthau nirdiśyete, na yo'dhīte*  
*vettyapyasau, yastu vetti adhīte'pyasau, naitayorāvaśyakaḥ*  
*samāveśaḥ, bhavati hi kaścitsampātham paṭhati no ca vetti,*  
*kaścicca vetti, na ca sampātham paṭhati* - Patañjali 4-2-59.
13. *tadasminnastīti deśe tannāmni, tena nirvṛttam, tasya nivāsaḥ,*  
*adūrabhavaśca* - 4-2-67 to 70.
14. *janapade lup* - 4-2-81.
15. *lupi yuktavadvyaktivacane* - 1-2-51.
16. *kim yasya chatradhāraṇam śīlam sa chātraḥ, kim cātaḥ,*  
*rājapuruse prāpnoti, evam tarhi uttarapadalopo' tra draṣṭavyaḥ*  
- *chatramiva chatram, guruśchatram, guruṇā śiṣyaśchatravat*  
*chādyāḥ, śiṣyeṇa guruśchatramiva paripālyāḥ*  
- Patañjali 4-4-62.
17. *evam tarhi itikaraṇaḥ kriyate, tataścedvivakṣā bhavati,*  
*vivakṣā ca dvayī, astyeva prāyoktrī vivakṣā, asti laukikī,*  
*prāyoktrī vivakṣā - prayoktā hi mṛdvyā snigdhayā ślakṣṇayā*  
*jihvayā mṛdūn, snigdhan, ślakṣṇān śabdān prayuñte; laukikī*  
*vivakṣā - yatra prāyasya sampratyayaḥ, prāya iti loko*  
*vyapadiśyate, na ca prāsādo devadattasya syāt prākāro*  
*nagarasya syādityatrotpadyamānena pratyayena prāyasya*  
*sampratyayaḥ syāt* - Patañjali 5-1-16.



18. *tadarhamiti nārabdham sūtram vyākaraṇāntare sambhavatyupamātrāpi bhedasya parikalpanāt* - *Īrī, Vākya, Vṛtti 561.*
19. *yuktamaupayikam rājña ityarthasya nidarśane upamānāvivakṣāyām tadarhamiti paṭhyate* - *Īrī, Vākya, Vṛtti 577.*
20. *sambandhibhedātsattaiva bhidyamānā gavādiṣu jātirityucyate tasyām sarve śabdā vyavasthitāḥ*  
*tām prātipadikārtham ca dhātvartham ca pracakṣate*  
*sā nityā sā mahānātmā tāmāhuḥ tvatalādayaḥ*  
*- Īrī, Vākya, Vṛtti 33, 34.*
21. *upamānādvā siddhametat, gavām sthānam - goṣṭham, yathā gavām tadvadustrāṇām, tailaśabdaśca pratyayo vaktavya iti, prakṛtyantaram tailaśabdo vikāre vartate, evam ca kṛtvā tilatailamityapi siddham bhavati* - *Patañjali 5-2-29.*
- rūḍhiśabdaścāyam snehadravavyavṛttiḥ, ... yathā prakṛṣṭo vīṇāyām pravīṇa iti vyutpattimātram kriyate, kauśalam tvasya pravṛttinimittam, tena vīṇāyām pravīṇa ityapi bhavati* - *Kaiyāṭa 5-2-29.*
22. *evam tarhi uttarapadalopo'tra draṣṭavyaḥ, ayaśśūlamiva ayaśśūlam, yo mṛdunopāyena anveṣṭavyānarthān rabhasenān-vicchatī sa ucyate āyaśśūlikaḥ* - *Patañjali 5-2-76.*
23. *saṃjñāyām iti kimartham? tribhiḥ sāksād draṣṭavyam bhavati-yaśca dadāti, yasmai ca diyate, yaścopadraṣṭā, tatra sarvatra pratyayaḥ prāpnoti, saṃjñāgrahaṇasāmarthyād dhanikāntevāsinoḥ na bhavati* - *Patañjali 5-2-91.*
24. *kṣettriyaḥ śrotriyaḥ, parakṣetrādvā tatra cikitsya iti paralopo ghacca* - *Kātyāyana 5-2-92.*
25. *athāstigrahaṇam kimartham? sattāyāmarthe pratyayo yathā syāt, naitadasti prayojanam, na sattām padārtho vyabhicarati, idam tarhi prayojanam - sampratisattāyām yathā syāt, bhūtabhaviṣyatsattāyām mā bhūt, gāvo'syāsan, gāvo'sya bhavitārah* - *Patañjali 5-2-94.*
26. *etām sattām padārtho hi na kaścidativartate, sā ca sampratisattāyāḥ pṛthak bhāṣye nidarśitā* - *Īrī, Vākya, Sambandha 51.*
27. *atha matvarthīyānmatvarthīyena bhavitavyam, na bhavitavyam, kim kāraṇam? arthagatyārthaḥ śabdaprayogaḥ, artham sampratyāyaviṣyāmīti sabdaḥ prayujyate, tatra ekena uktatvāttasyārthasya dvitīyasya prayogena na bhavitavyam, kim kāraṇam uktārthānāmaprayoga iti, bhavati hi - daṇḍimatī śālā, hastimatyupatyaketi -*  
*śaiṣikānmatubarthīyacchaiṣiko matubarthikaḥ*  
*sarūpaḥ pratyayo neṣṭaḥ sannantanna sanīṣyate*  
*- Patañjali 5-2-94.*
28. *matupprabhṛtayaḥ sanmātre iti cedatiprasaṅgaḥ, bhūmanindāpraśamsāsu nityayoge tiśāyane sambandhe'stīvavakṣāyām bhavanti matubādayaḥ*
29. *uktam vā, sanmātre carṣidarśanāt, gunavacanabhyo matupo luk, tathā ca liṅgavācanasiddhiḥ* - *Kātyāyana 5-2-94.*
30. *kimuktam? anabhidhānāditi, itikaraṇaḥ khalvapi kriyate tataścedvivakṣā, bhūmādiyuktasyaiva ca vivakṣā* - *Patañjali 5-2-94.*
31. *śītoṣṇatruprebhyaḥ tanna sāhate (hṛdayāccāluranyatarasyām), himācceluḥ, balāccelaḥ, vātātsamūhe ca* - *Kātyāyana 5-2-122.*
32. *kutsita iti vaktavyam, yo hi samyag bahu bhāṣate vāggmītyeva sa bhavati, tattarhi vaktavyam, na vaktavyam, nānāyogakaraṇasāmarthyānna bhaviṣyati* - *Patañjali 5-2-125.*



33. *adhuneti kim nipātyate? idamo'śbhāvo dhunā ca pratyayaḥ idamo vā lopah, adhunā ca pratyayaḥ, asmin kālē adhunā* - Patañjali 5-3-17.
34. *atiśāyane ityucyate - kimidamatiśāyane iti? yāvadbrūyād prakarṣe, atiśāye iti tāvadatiśāyane iti, kasya punaḥ prakarṣe pratyaya utpadyate, na vai dravyasya prakarṣa iṣyate, naiṣa jāteḥ prakarṣaḥ, evam tarhi guṇo'bhidhīyate* - Patañjali 5-3-55.
35. *evam ca śāstre guṇavacanāśabdena jātisamjñāvyayakṛdanto taddhitāntasamastasarvanāmasamkhyāśabdātirikta śabdo gṛhyate iti bodhyam* - Nāgeśa 1-4-1.
36. *samsargi bhedakam yadyat savyāpāram pratiya guṇatvam paratantratvāt tasya śāstre udāhṛtam* - Hari, Vākya Guṇa 1.
37. *dravyasyāvyapadeśasya ya upādīyate guṇaḥ bhedako vyapadeśāya tatprakarṣo'bhidhīyate*  
*sarvasyaiva pradhānasya na vinā bhedahetunā prakarṣo vidyate, nāpi śabdasyopaiti vācyatām* - Hari, Vākya, Guṇa 2 & 3.
38. *guṇaḥ prakarṣaheturyaḥ svātantryeṇopadiśyate tasyāśritaguṇādeva prakṛṣṭatvam pratiyate* - Hari, Vākya, Brahma 64.
- (see my Eng. Translation, Sadguru Publi, New Delhi, 1992)
39. *ke punarnityapratyayāḥ? tamādayaḥ prākkanah, nīyādayaḥ prāgvunah, āmādayaḥ prāṇmayataḥ, brhatījātyantāḥ samāsāntāśceti* - Patañjali 5-4-7.
40. *tadantācca svārthe chandasi darśanam śreṣṭhatamāyeti* - Kātyāyana 5-3-55.
41. *svārthamabhidhāya śabdo nirapekṣo dravyamāha samavetam samavetasya ca vacane liṅgam vacanam vibhaktim ca abhidhāya tān viśeṣān apekṣamāṇaśca kṛtsnamātmānam priyakutsanādiṣu punaḥ pravartate' sau vibhaktyantaḥ* - Patañjali 5-3-74.
42. *kimādīnām dvibahvarthe pratyayavidhānādupalakṣyam* - Kātyāyana 5-3-92.
- dvayorityanarthakam, bahūnāmapi nirdhāraṇe ḍataraca iṣṭatvāt, ajātiparipraśne'pi katamaśabdadarśanāt vā bahūnām ityatra jātiparipraśnagrahaṇam na kartavyam* - Kaiyaṭa ibid.
43. *vārtike dvibahvarthe iti upalakṣaṇam iti tātparyam* - Nāgeśa ibid.
- ḍataraḍatamayoh samasampradhāraṇāyām strīnigadabhāve dve bhavataḥ* - Kātyāyana 8-1-12.
- sarva ime ādhyāḥ katamā katamaisāmādhyaatameti* - Patañjali 8-1-12.
44. *tadityanena kim pratinirdiśyate? chaḥ, kathampunaḥ samāsonāma chaviṣayaḥ syāt? evam tarhi ivārthaḥ, yadi tarhi samāso'pivārthe, pratyayo'pi, samāsenoktatvāt pratyayo na prāpnoti, evam tarhi dvāvivārthau katham? kākāgamanamiva tālapatanamiva kākātālam, kākātālamiva kākātālīyam* - Patañjali 5-3-106.
45. *chāpekṣā tadviṣayatā vidheyatvānna gamyate kākātālīyamityatra prasiddham hyupalakṣaṇam* - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 606.
- pradhānasyāpi chasya parāmarśasyāyuktatvād guṇabhūtasyai-vevārthasya parāmarśaḥ, che ca vidhīyamāne' smādeva jñāpakādivārthe samāsaḥ, supsupeti vā* - Kaiyaṭa 5-3-106.



*chapratyayaviṣaya eva jñāpakasiddhaḥ samāsaḥ, sanniyogaśiṣṭavat, supsupā ityayam abhidhānasvābhāvādityarthaḥ - Nāgeśa ibid.*

46. *dvayorivārthayorarthanimittatvam pratiyate ekenāvayavo yuktaḥ pratyayo'nyena yujyate caitrasya tatrāgamanam kākasyāgamanam yathā dasyorabhiniṣṭastu tālasya patanam yathā - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 608 & 609.*
47. *sannipāte tayoryānyā kriyā tatropajāyate vadhādirupameye'rthe tayā chavidhirīṣyate - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 610.*
48. *kriyāyām samavetāyām dravyaśabdo'vatiṣṭhate pātāgamanayoḥ kākatālaśabdau tathā sthitau - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 611.*
49. *yadanvākhyāyakam vākyaṃ tadevam parikalpyate prayogavākyaṃ yallope tadevam na prayujyate - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 612.*
50. *yayoratarkitā prāptiḥ dṛśyate kākatālavat tayor samāsaprakṛteḥ vṛttirabhyupagamyate kākasya tālena yathā vadho yasya tu dasyunā tatra citrīkṛte'nyasminnupameye cha iṣyate - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 613 & 614.*
51. *vigrahābhāvāt, vighrahapūrvikā taddhitotpattiḥ, asti kūṛaṇam yenātra vighraho na bhavati, nityapratyayo'yam, vighrahapūrvikā samāsapravṛttiḥ, bhavati vai kaścidasvavapadavighraho'pi bahuvrīhiḥ - Patañjali 5-4-7.*
52. *kimatra kartavyam? paratvāt kap, antaraṅgam hrasvatvam, antaraṅgatarah kap, na cāyam kap samāsānta ityucyate, tādarthyaṭtācchabdyam bhaviṣyati, yeṣām padānām samāsaḥ na tāvat teṣāmanyadbhavati kapam tāvat pratikṣate (see Udyota) - Patañjali 1-2-48.*
- ayamantaśabdo'styevāvayavavācī - Patañjali 8-4-20.*

53. *samāsāntavidhāyakānām ca tattatsamāsārthavighraha-vākyaṇtāvayavaḥ śaradādiṣṭipadikātparaḥ pratyayaḥ ityartha iti bhāvah, evam ca kapā samakālam tatpūrvabhāgasya samāsasamjñā - Nāgeśa 1-2-48.*
54. *yadyatra śac syāt tadā citvānnityamantodāttatvam syāt, dvitribhyām iti tu vibhāṣāntodāttatvam yadā samāsāntavidhera-nityatvāt dvimūrdheti samāsāntābhāvastadā sāvakāśam, ṣe tu sati samāsāntapakṣepi pakṣe'ntodāttatvam, pakṣe pūrvapada-prakṛtisvareṇādyudāttatvam iti rūpadvayasiddhiḥ - Kaiyaṭa 5-4-115.*
55. *anityatvāditi, atra cedameva śavidhānam jñāpakamiti bhāvah - Nāgeśa 5-4-115.*

#### SANĀDYANTADHĀTUVṚTTIḤ

1. *kāmam tarhyanenaiva hetunā kyajapi kartavyaḥ - mahāntam putramicchatīti karmaṇo yatsubantamavayava iti, na kartavyaḥ asāmarthyānna bhaviṣyati, kathamasāmarthyam? sāpekṣamasamartham bhavatīti - Patañjali 3-1-7.*
2. *vā vacanānarthakyam ca tatra nityatvāt sanah - Kātyāyana 3-1-7.*
3. *vāvacanam cānarthakam, kim kūṛaṇam? tatra nityatvāt sanah, iha dvau pakṣau, vṛttipakṣaścāvṛttipakṣaśca, svabhāvataścaitadbhavati vākyaṃ ca pratyayaśca, tatra svābhāvike vṛttiviṣaye nitye pratyaye prāpte vāvacanena kimanyacchakyamabhisambandhumanyadataḥ samjñāyāḥ? na ca samjñāyāḥ bhāvābhāvāviṣyete, tasmānnārtho vāvacanena - Patañjali 3-1-7.*
4. *vṛttistarhi kasmānna bhavati - mahāntam putramicchatīti? agamakavāt, iha samānārthenā vākyaṇa bhavitavyam pratyayāntena ca, yaścehārtho vākyaṇa gamyate - mahāntam*



*putramicchatīti nāsau jātucitpratyaṃyāntena gamyate - mahāntam putrīyatīti, yatra ca gamakam bhavati, tatra vṛttih, tadyathā-muṇḍayati māṇavakamiti - Patañjali 3-1-8.*

5. *ne hīha sanaḥ kaścanārtho nirdiśyate, na ca anirdiśtārthāḥ pratyayāḥ svārthe bhaviṣyanti iti svārthe eva san bhaviṣyatīti yuktam parikalpayitum, gopanādeḥ svārthasya sannantādapratiteḥ, astyeva sano'rthah, kaḥ punarasau? nindādih, yadāha - nindākṣamāvyādhipratikāreṣu saniṣyate iti, kutaḥ punaretadavasitam - sano'rthā nindādaya iti? anvayavyatirekābhyām, sani hi sati jugupsate ityādau te'rthāḥ pratiyante, tasmādarthavāneva san - Nyāsa 3-1-5.*
6. *parakṣetre cikitsya iti vyādhipratikārādāveva vyavahārāt, jugupsādernindādāveva vyavahārāt, gup-gopane, kita-niketane iti prayogācca, vicikitsā tu samśayaḥ iti kośabalācca arthaviśeṣopahitebhyaḥ eva saniti bodhyam - Nāgeśa 3-1-5.*
7. *kyajādiṣu pratyayārthanirdeśaḥ - Kātyāyana 3-1-19.*
8. *kyajādiṣu pratyayārthanirdeśaḥ kartavyaḥ - namasaḥ pūjāyām, varivasah saparyāyām, citraṇa āścārye, bhāṇḍātsamācayane, cīvarādarjane paridhāne ca, pucchādudāsane vyaśane paryasane ceti, kim prayojanam? kriyāvācanatā yathā syāt ..., kriyāvācanatā ca gamyate, kaḥ khalvapi pacādinām kriyāvācanatve yatnam karoti yenaiva khalvapi hetunā pacādayaḥ kriyāvācanāḥ tenaiva kyajādayo'pi, evamartham khalvapi ācāryaḥ citrayati kvacidarthānādiśati kvacinneti, evamapyarthādeśanam kartavyam, kathamime abudhā bodhyeranniti, athavā śakyamevārthādeśanamakartum, katham? karaṇe iti vartate, karaṇam ca karotyarthaḥ, karotiśca kriyāsāmānye vartate - Patañjali 3-1-19.*
9. *kṛtrimasya pāribhāṣikasya prayojakasyeha hetorgrahaṇam, tadīyo vyāpārah preṣaṇādhyeṣaṇatatsamarthācaraṇalakṣaṇo hetumāniha grhyate - Kaiyaṭa 3-1-26.*

*utkrṣṭena nikrṣṭasya prerāṇam ādyam, viparītam dvitīyam, prayojavyāpārānukūlamācaraṇam tṛtīyam - yathā bhikṣā vāsayaṭīti - Nāgeśa ibid.*

*preṣaṇādhyeṣaṇe kurvamstatsamarthāni cācaran kartaiva vihitam śāstre hetusamjñām prapadyate - Hari, Sādhana 125.*

10. *yuktam punaridam vicārayitum, nanvanenāsamdigdhena pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇena bhavitavyam, yāvatā vyaktamarthāntaram gamyate pacati pācayati ca, bādham yuktam, iha paceḥ kaḥ pradhānārthah? yāsau taṇḍulānām viklittih, athedānīm tadabhisandhipūrvakam preṣaṇamadhyeṣaṇam vā, yuktam yatsarvaṃ pacyarthaḥ syāt - Patañjali 3-1-26.*

*anantaram phalam yasyāḥ kalpate tām kriyām viduḥ pradhānabhūtām tādārthyād anyāsām tu tadākhyatā - Hari, Vākya, Kriyā 15.*

11. *hetunirdeśaśca nimittamātre, bhikṣādiṣu darśanāt - Kātyāyana 3-1-26.*

*hetunirdeśaśca nimittamātre draṣṭavyaḥ, yāvad brūyādnimittam kāraṇam tāvad heturiti, kim prayojanam? bhikṣādiṣu darśanāt, bhikṣādiṣu hi niḍrśyate - bhikṣā vāsayaṭi, kāriśo'gniradhyāpayatīti, kim punaḥ kāraṇam pāribhāṣike hetau na siddhyati? evam manyate cetanāvaṭa etadbhavati - preṣaṇamadhyeṣaṇam ceti, bhikṣāścācetanāḥ, naiṣa doṣaḥ, nāvaśyam sa eva vāsam prayojayati ya ihoṣyatām iti bravīti, kim tarhi? tūṣṇīmāpyāsinaḥ yastatsamarthā-ṇyācarati so'pi vāsam prayojayati bhikṣāścāpi pracurā vyañjanavatyāḥ labhyamānā vāsam prayojayanti, tathā kāriśo'-gnih nirvāte ekānte suprajvalito'dhyayanam prayojayati. - Patañjali ibid.*

12. *citrīkaraṇe prāpi (vārtikam) - ujjayinyāḥ prasthitaḥ māhiṣmatyām sūryodgamanam sambhāvayate*



sūryamudgamayatīti, iha tu katham vartamānakālatā kamsam ghātayati, balim bandhayatīti, cirahate ca kamse cirabaddhe ca balau, atrāpi yuktā, katham? ye tāvadete śaubhikā nāma ete pratyakṣam kamsam ghātayanti pratyakṣam ca balim bandhayantīti. - Patañjali 3-1-26.

śabdopahitarūpāmśca buddherviśayatām gatān pratyakṣamiva kamsādīn sādhanatvena manyate - Hari, Sādhana 5.

13. svatantraprayojakatvādaprayojaka iti cenmuktasamśayena tulyam, pravṛttirhyubhayatrānapekṣya, kurvataḥ prayojaka iti cettulyam - Kātyāyana 3-1-26.

yam bhavān svatantraprayojakam muktasamśayam nyāyyam manyate pācayatyodanam devadatto yajñadatteneti tenaitattulyam, katham? pravṛttirhyubhayatra anapekṣyaiva kimcid bhavati devadatte cāditye ca, neha kaścitparo' nūgrahītavya iti pravartate, sarva ime svabhūtyartham pravartante, ye yāvadete guruśuśrūṣavo nāma te'pi svabhūtyartham pravartante - pāralaukikam ca no bhaviṣyati, iha ca naḥ prīto gururadhyāpayiṣyatīti, tathā ya ete dāsāḥ karmakarā nāma te'pi svabhūtyartham pravartante- bhaktam tailam ca lapsyāmahe, paribhāṣāśca na no bhaviṣyantīti, tathā ya ete śilpino nāma ete'pi svabhūtyartham pravartante - vetanam ca lapsyāmahe, mitrāṇi ca no bhaviṣyantīti, evameteṣu sarveṣu svabhūtyartham pravartamāneṣu yadi kaścit prayojako nāma kurvato bhavati tenaitattulyam - Patañjali 3-1-26.

nimittebhyaḥ pravartante sarva eva svabhūtaye abhiprāyānurodho'pi svārthasyaiva prasiddhaye - Hari, Vākya, Sādhana 124.

14. uttarayorvighraheṇa viśeṣāsampratyaṣyāt nityagraha-  
ṇānarthakyam - Kātyāyana 3-1-23.

uttarayoryogayoḥ vighraheṇa viśeṣāsyāsampratyaṣyāt nityagrahaṇam anarthakam, na hi kuṭilam krāmatīti camkramyate iti gamyate - Patañjali ibid.

kriḍāyām jīvikāyām ca vākyenāvacanāttathā na nityagrahaṇam yuktam kauṭilye yañvidhau yathā - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 40.

15. loḍantasyaivedam dvirvacanam na yañantasya, lotaḥ samuccaye'pi vidhānāt samadhivyāhāravyaktaḥ kevalasya sāmārthyābhāvāt, yañ tu kriyāsamabhihāraṇaviśaya eveti taddyotane svayam sāmārthyāt nāpekṣate dvirvacanam - Kaiyaṭa 8-1-12.

16. kriyā ca dviprakārā - pradhānā apradhānā ca, tatra pradhāna-kriyā vikledanādīḥ, guṇakriyā cādhiśrayaṇādīḥ, tatra yaḥ phalāntam pākam avasāyya kriyāntaram anārabhya punaḥ pākamevārabhate sa pradhānakriyām samabhiharati, tāsām paunaḥpunyam samabhihāraḥ, yastvadhiśrayaṇādīreva kriyāḥ kriyāntarairavyapetāḥ sākalyena karoti sa guṇakriyāḥ samabhiharati, tāsām bhṛśārthatā samabhihāraḥ - Nyāsa 3-1-22.

ubhayam kaṇḍvādīni dhātavaśca prātipadikāni ca, ātaścobhayam, kaṇḍūyatīti hi kriyām kurvāṇo prayujyate, asti me kaṇḍūriti vedanāmātrasya sānnidhye, apara āha -dhātuprakaraṇāddhātuḥ kasya cāsamjanādapi āhacāyamimam dīrgham manye dhāturvibhāṣitaḥ - Patañjali 3-1-27.

17. na ca chasunāviti vācye tarabīyasunāvityuktiḥ prātipadikapratyaṣyānāmāpyādeśābhāvam jñāpayet, āyanādīnām nirviśayatvāpatteḥ, phaghachānām dhātupratyaṣyāḥsvabhāvāt, cphañādīnām cittvasya ṇyakṣatriyetyādinirdeśānām cāsamgatyaṣyāpatteścetyāhuḥ - Nāgeśa 7-1-2.



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## Facts

The specific capacity possessed by Śabda in expressing the artha is called *sāmarthya*. It is of two types - *Vyapekṣā* and *Ekārthībhāva*. The mutual expectancy (*ākāṅkṣā*) among words is characteristic of a sentence and the same coupled with *yogyatā* (compatibility) and *āsatti* (proximity) is called *Vyapekṣā*. Words having separate meaning unite to render a unitary meaning and the process is called *Ekārthībhāva* and it is the characteristic of *Vṛtti*. There are a number of properties that are both common and specific to *Vākya* and *Vṛtti*. Pāṇini wanted to cover the gamut of things related to both the above concepts and *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* (2-1-1) is the terse *Sūtra* that has come out of his mouth.

The use of *Vākya* and *Vṛtti* is natural, rather the analysis is artificial - speakers use *Vākya* and *Vṛtti* which express the same meaning. In some cases there will be *Vākya* only and in other cases there will be *Vṛtti* only. The optionality of *Vṛtti* is artificial, i.e. both are independent candidates useful in expression of meaning and neither can be replaced by the other. Rather it is a device invented by *Vaiyākaraṇas* to explain the structure of words in a brief and perfect way. The analysis is variable from grammarian to grammarian whereas the form of a *Śabda* is constant. The organization of *Vyākaraṇa* is elaborately discussed by Hari in *Vākyakāṇḍa* of *Vākyapadīya*.

Pāṇini wanted to teach *vākyapūrvikām vṛttim* (*Vṛtti* preceded by *Vākya*) and in it he has shown the meaning in a broken word which is akin to a broken sentence, i.e. only an *akhaṇḍavākya* and *akhaṇḍapada* is acceptable to Pāṇini, but it is for *abudhas* (non-scholars). A group called *dvandva*, like the word *gargāḥ*, expresses a number of things due to the greatness of *Śabda*. The exhibition of meaning to *varṇas* is exclusively for the sake of *Śāstra* (by *Kātyāyana*) and bare *dhātus* do not have worldly-meaning whatsoever. The meanings of *kṛts* and *taddhitas* is *alaukika* (non-worldly/*śāstric*). The *kṛdantas* and *taddhitāntas*, before the *vibhakti* is added, do not have any meaning. It is also apparent that meanings of *pratyayas* in a *Vyākaraṇa* are described as the meanings of *prakṛtis* in another

*Vyākaraṇa*. In *Śāstra*, the *pratyaya* expresses the meaning of *prakṛti* when the latter disappears and in some cases the *dhātus* themselves denote the meaning of the *pratyaya* also when the latter gets *lopa*. *Iyān* (*taddhita*) is an example for the first type whereas *ahan* and *dadhi* are for the second type. Pāṇini had *Jahatsvārthā*, i.e. the words involved in *Vṛtti* give up their meaning and the combined unit as a whole denotes a single meaning, in mind and this fact can be justified by the *Bahuvrīhi*, wherein the *Sūtrakāra* ruled that two or more (many) words unite in order to render the meaning of an outside word - *anekamanyapadārthe* (2-2-24) - compare with *parārthābhidhānam vṛttiḥ* - the pre-Pāṇinian definition. This is common to all *Vṛttis*. So far as the production of *Śabdās* is concerned there

are different analyses by different *Vaiyākaraṇas*. Among various deviations that are available to define, one is picked up as the cause / base.

The word *gauḥ* is produced from different *dhātus* by *Vaiyākaraṇas* - *gr̥ñ* *ñigarane* (to swallow), *garja* *śabde* (to roar), *gam* *ghgatau* (to go), *guṇ* *avyakte śabde* (to make unclear sound), *gada* *yaktāyām vāci* (to pronounce clearly) etc. And it may be noted that the meanings assigned to *dhātus* (by *Bhīmaśena*) are not static (*dhātūnām anekārthatvāt*). Some *Vaiyākaraṇas* hold that one need not go for an exploded view of any word as by form (*svarūpa*) itself *gauḥ* etc. words denote their meaning (i.e. *Aukthikya*, a pre-Pāṇinian grammarian as an answer to his own question stated that since it is *gośabda* it is expressing the meaning - *śabdasvarūpa iteself* is the *pravṛttinimitta*), whereas some accepted the quite opposite view that all words are produced while yet others accepted both. The argument for productivity is called *Vyutpattivāda* and the argument for non-productivity is styled *Avyutpattivāda*. Pāṇini supports the latter in spite of his prescriptions and descriptions in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The *prakriyā* (analysis) in *Śāstra* is a device meant for trainees, they are false statements. Rather, one would get the real thing (candidate of expression, *Pada* or *Vākya*) thru unreal means.

This is the easiest way that is useful in improving one's vocabulary and enhancing the knowledge of structure of Sanskrit words. The job is finished by Pāṇini in a way that is unsurpassed in terms of skill, brevity and perfection [either by his predecessors or successors].



pratipādayatā vṛttimabudhām vākya-pūrvikām  
vṛttau padārthabhedena prādhānyamupadarśitam  
- Hari, Vākya, Vākya 226.

gargā ityeka evāyam bahuṣvartheṣu vartate  
dvandvasamjño'pi samghāto bahūnāmabhidhāyakaḥ - ibid 221.

śāstrārtha eva varṇānām arthavattve pradarśitaḥ  
dhātvādīnam viśuddhānām laukiko'rtho na vidyate - ibid 210.

kṛttaddhitānāmarthaśca kevalānāmalaikikaḥ  
prāgvibhaktetadantasya tathaiivārtho na vidyate - ibid 211.

anvākhyānasmṛtau ye ca pratyayārthā nibandhanam  
nirdiṣṭāste prakṛtyarthāḥ smṛtyantara udāhṛtāḥ - ibid 231.

śāstre kvacitprakṛtyarthaḥ pratyayenābhidhīyate  
prakṛtau vinivṛttāyām pratyayārthaśca dhātubhiḥ - ibid 229.

jahatsvārthavikalpe ca sarvārthatyāgamicchatā  
bahuvrihipadārthasya tyāgaḥ sarvasya darśitaḥ - ibid 228.

anvākhyānāni bhidyante śabdavyutpattikarmasu  
bahūnām sambhave'rthānām nimittam kiñcidiṣyate - ibid 170.

kaiścinnirvacanam bhinnam giratergarjatergameḥ  
gavatergadatervāpi gaurityatrānudarśitam - ibid 174.

gaurityeva svarūpādvā gośabdo goṣu vartate  
vyutpādyate na vā sarvam kaiściccobhayatheṣyate - ibid 175.

upāyāḥ sikṣyamāṇānām balānāmupalālānāḥ  
asatye vartmani sthitvā tatassatyam samīhate - ibid 238.